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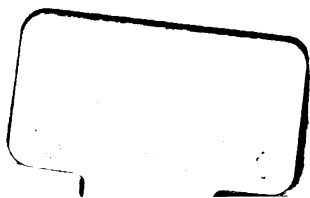
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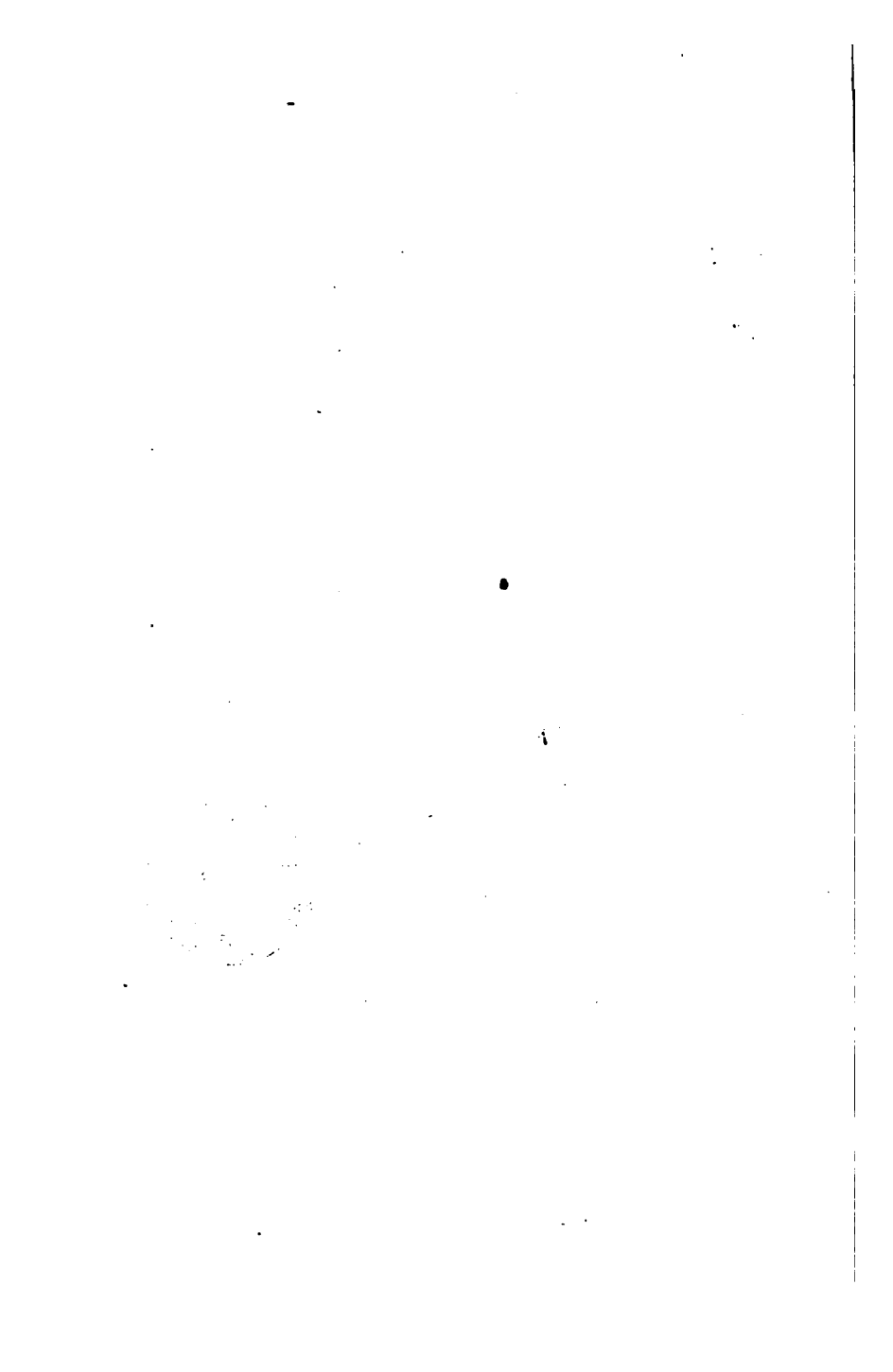
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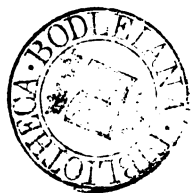
OF

HISTORICAL READERS.

HISTORY OF FRANCE.

BY

J. R. AND CATHARINE MORELL.

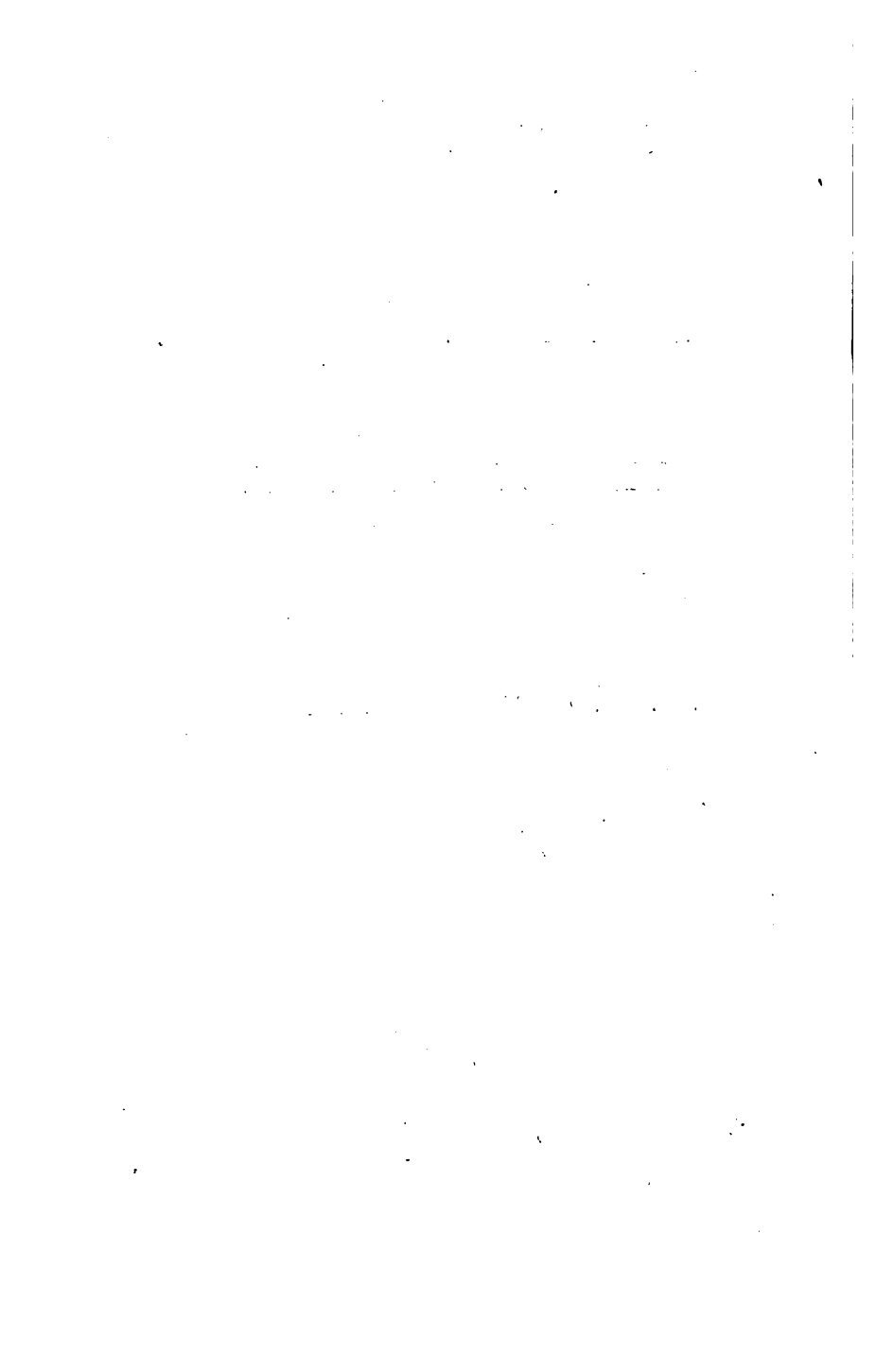


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PREFACE.

IN issuing a set of Readers, somewhat different in plan from those in general circulation, it has seemed to us expedient to introduce them by a few explanatory statements.

Two objects had to be kept in view in a work of this popular description, intended for circulation in schools and families—1st, the readable element; 2nd, useful information.

The effort to reconcile these objects in the compass of one small volume, to embrace the history of an important nation, was not an easy matter, but explains at once certain features of the work that might give rise to misconceptions.

Description and biography had to enter largely to meet the first object, and essential facts had to be enumerated to meet the second. But, in the limits assigned, only important and picturesque descriptions and biographies could be admitted, and the prominent facts had to be weighed and sifted. Many facts, hitherto classed as of the first importance, are now viewed as being of secondary, and even tertiary value. The quarrels of nobles and courtiers, and the petty intrigues of the worthless, are thought less valuable information than the state of the people, and the principles working in and explaining national character.

Then, some tact and discrimination had to be used in adapting certain topics for popular and school use, such as the Mythology of Greece, and the state of society in Pagan Rome. It

has not appeared to us desirable, as has been done too often in works for general use, and the use of the young, to bring prominently forward the corrupt and the base of all ages, and to taint the mind by dwelling at length on bad examples and evil practices. It has seemed better to pass over such topics with brevity, and to dwell on the true, the good, and the beautiful.

A further point must be noticed. Certain mistaken notions prevail as to the propriety of writing in a very simple, plain style, or down to the level, as this is called, of the young and the unlettered. A little familiarity with human and child nature is enough to show the fallacy of this view. Man and the child like to look up to something above them in style and thought, and view with apathy or contempt what is too familiar. Moreover, the level of human thought and child thought is daily rising, and it is our province to write it up, and not to write it down. It will suffice in this connection to point to Sir Walter Scott, who, beginning to write his "Tales of a Grandfather" in a very simple, child-like style, found this did not answer his intention, and had to rise to a higher tone.

With this preamble, we leave the books to work their own way. Only let this point, already suggested by the title, be especially kept in view, that these little volumes are Historical Readers, and not Histories, according to the usual fashion of such works. It is hoped that really essential facts are to a great extent noted; but the Readable, or Reader feature has been made the leading consideration.

It is desirable to add that all the descriptions and facts are derived from approved authors, and if exception be taken to any of the statements, the objections are aimed at some of our gravest authorities.

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HISTORY OF FRANCE.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

ANCIENT GAUL.

ANCIENT Gaul comprised, not only that portion of modern Europe we now call France, but also nearly the whole of Switzerland, the Rhine provinces, Belgium, and the south of Holland. This vast extent of country had then, as now, the same natural boundaries, viz., the ocean, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, the Alps, and the Rhine. A chain of heights, of various elevations, which may be called the backbone of the country, divided Gaul, as it still divides France, from north to south. It commences at the foot of the Eastern Pyrenees and, after various ramifications, terminates in decreasing undulations at Cape Gris-Nez, in the Pas de Calais. This long and tortuous ridge, more or less interrupted, forms the watershed down the eastern and western slopes of which flow the chief rivers and their tributaries. On the eastern slope descend, in opposite directions, the Rhine and the Rhône; the first finding an outlet into the North Sea, the latter into the Mediterranean. The Seine, the Loire, and the Garonne rise on the western slope, and all fall into the ocean. The vast basins through which these rivers and their numerous tributaries flow, are bounded by lines at elevations, enclosing broad and fertile plains or fruitful valleys, watered by navigable streams, forming natural ways of communication favourable both for commerce and for war.

The climate of ancient Gaul presented the same contrast we still observe between the north and the south of France. The Roman province, or the Narbonese, began at Geneva, on the left bank of the Rhône, and extended in the south as far as Toulouse. It enjoyed a mild temperature and an extreme fertility, reminding the Romans both of the climate and the productions

of Italy ; the central and northern parts were rendered even colder than at present by the vast forests which extended over those regions, especially in the north—central Gaul producing wheat, barley, millet, and rye in abundance ; whilst in the north the breeding of cattle occupied the inhabitants, and the pastures of Belgic Gaul produced a race of excellent horses. In the centre and the south, adding to the productiveness of the soil, there were rich mines of gold, silver, copper, iron, and lead.

As the Gauls possessed waggons of various kinds, the country must have been intersected by routes, there being still traces of Celtic roads, and many of their rivers, as the Aisne, the Rhône, the Loire, the Allier, and the Seine, had bridges.

In the earliest antiquity the country of the Gauls was inhabited by the race which gave its name to Gaul, and by the Iberians, but in the time of Cæsar, Gaul seems to have been divided into three great regions, each belonging to a people quite distinct by language, manners, and laws ; these three regions were divided into a great number of states or nations, and were again subdivided into tribes.

The first of the three great regions was Belgic Gaul in the north, lying between the Seine, the Marne, and the Rhine. The Kymri or Cymri (called by Cæsar the Belgæ) settled in Gaul about B.C. 300. The Belgæ were considered the most warlike of all the Gauls, because, being farther removed from the civilization of the south, and hostile to commerce, they were not enervated by luxury. They gloried in being of Germanic origin ;* nevertheless they were constantly at war with the Germans, their neighbours. One of the most powerful nations among the Belgæ—the Bellovaci—whose territory embraced the modern department of the Oise to the sea, could arm a hundred thousand men. The opposite coast of Britain was colonized by tribes of these warlike Belgæ.

The second region, called Celtic Gaul, or central Gaul, mentioned by Greek writers under the name of Celtica, lay between the Garonne and the Seine, from the ocean to the Alps. It was inhabited by the Galli, considered by the Romans as more distinctly the Gauls. These included the Helvetii, who occupied that portion of Switzerland which extends between the north shore of the Lemane to the Lake of Constance ; also tribes of the Cymri called the Armoricans, an epithet which in the Celtic

* Though their language testified to an original relationship with the Gaëls or Gauls.

tongue has the meaning of maritime. These people lived on the north-west coast from the modern Côtes-du-Nord to the Gironde.

The third great region was inhabited by the peoples of Aquitaine, whose territory commenced on the left bank of the Garonne to the Pyrenees. The Aquitanians had originally occupied a vast territory to the north of the Pyrenees, but had been pushed backwards by the Galli. We must include in Gaul the Roman province of Narbonensis, founded about 118 B.C., the population of which consisted of small tribes of different origins, Aquitanians proper, Belgæ, Ligures, and Celts, who had all experienced the influence of Greek civilization from their neighbourhood to the Phocians, who founded Massalia or Marseilles, 600 B.C., and other colonies on the coasts of the Mediterranean. According to Pliny, the country comprised under the name of Gallia Comata is divided into three peoples, generally separated by rivers. From the Scheldt to the Seine is Belgic Gaul; from the Seine to the Garonne, Celtic, called also Lyonnese; from thence to the Pyrenees, is Aquitaine, which, after the Romans invaded Gaul, included the Narbonese, or Roman province.

The habitations or huts of the Gauls were constructed of wood and with hurdles; they were circular in form, tolerably spacious, and covered with a high roof. To avoid the heat, these dwellings were usually established in the neighbourhood of woods and rivers. In case of war they had places of refuge, called by the Romans *oppida*, or towers, difficult of access, often placed on heights carefully fortified or surrounded by marshes, into which the Gauls transported their grain, their provisions, and their wealth.

The Gauls were of tall stature, had a white or fair complexion—some mention is made of the practice of tattooing among the Gauls—blue eyes, and flowing hair of a bright auburn or chestnut, or otherwise fair, which they dyed to make the colour more brilliant. The majority had beards of moderate size; the nobles alone shaved, but they preserved long moustaches. It is stated that the Gauls generally had a threatening and terrible tone of voice.

The Belgæ wore wide trousers or breeches; these were also worn, though of narrower dimensions, by the southern Gauls. A shirt, with sleeves, descending to about the middle of the thighs completed their costume, with the addition of a *sae* or mantle, often magnificently embroidered and fastened about the neck by means of a metal brooch. The skin of some animal

formed the outer garment of the lowest class. The Aquitanians covered themselves with cloth of coarse wool unshorn, probably after the custom of Iberia.

The Gauls were fond of ornament, and as gold was abundant, the rich wore bracelets, rings on the leg, and collars of the purest gold or copper, and tolerably massive; also earrings, necklaces of amber, and rings which they placed on the third finger, and even breastplates of gold. The Gauls were not totally unacquainted with manufactures. Their embroidered *saries* or mantles were sent both to Italy and Greece, and were much prized. In some countries serges were made which were in great repute, also cloths or felts. They worked their mines with skill, and fabricated their metals. The Bituriges, a people of Celtic Gaul, whose territory embraced the ancient Berry, capital *Avaricum* (now Bourges), worked in iron, and were acquainted with the art of tinning; and the artificers of *Alesia*—the chief oppidum of the *Mandubii*—the people inhabiting the ancient country of *Auxois* (*Côte-d'Or*), plated copper with leaf silver to ornament horses' bits and trappings.

Milk and the flesh of wild or domestic animals, especially swine's flesh, fresh or salted, formed the principal food of the Gauls. Beer made of barley—but without hops and mead—was the ordinary drink of the Gauls, who have been reproached by Cicero and other ancient writers, with the propensity to drunkenness.

The Gauls were of a frank character, good-hearted and hospitable, inviting the stranger to their meal as soon as he presented himself, and only after eating and drinking with him would they inquire his name and country. They were inclined to disputes and quarrels, as well as being vain and fickle, and fond of novelties. Thus they were hard to deal with, and gave great trouble to the Romans; always eager for war and adventures, they were hot in the attack, but under defeat were quickly discouraged. The Gaulish women were tall and strong, and of remarkable beauty. A Roman writer describes them thus:—"Several foreigners together could not wrestle a single Gaul, especially if he called for help to his wife, who even exceeds her husband in her strength and in her haggard eyes. She would become especially formidable if, swelling her throat and gnashing her teeth, she agitated her arms, robust and white, ready to act with feet or fists, to give blows as vigorous as if they came from a catapult."

The language of the Gauls was very concise and figurative; in writing they used Greek letters, according to a tradition pre-

served by the Druids. The Gauls believed they descended from Pluto and from the god of the earth, and in their division of time they took night as their starting point. Like most barbarian people, they looked upon the other life as resembling the present. With this sentiment they threw into the funereal pile all they most cherished during life, and even letters addressed to the dead, which they imagined he read. The husband had the right of life and death over his wife and children, and if the decease of a man of rank or wealth excited any suspicion, his wives, as well as his slaves, were put to the torture and burnt, if they were proved to be implicated in any way. The Gauls never appeared in public with their children until they were of an age to carry arms. The greater part of the peoples of Gaul during the Roman period used long iron two-edged swords, without point, made to strike with the edge rather than to stab, which they carried suspended to their right side by chains of iron or bronze. Some bound their tunics with gilt or silvered girdles, and iron coats of mail were said to be a Gaulish invention. Their bucklers were long, narrow, and flat, and they carried besides, breast-plates of iron and bronze. Spears, having broad and long, and often undulating blades, light javelins, the bow, and the sling were their weapons.

The Gaulish cavalry was composed of the nobles, and was in general superior to the infantry, though the agile Aquitanians had some reputation as good infantry. The habit of working mines gave the Gauls much dexterity in all underground operations of defence or attack. They were also very ready in imitating the tactics of their enemies.

Notwithstanding the degree of civilization which they had reached at the time when first described in the writings of Cæsar and other Roman writers and historians, they retained many barbarous customs, as that of killing their prisoners in war, and of vowing to immolate human beings through the ministry of the Druids, as a propitiatory sacrifice in cases of sickness or danger. When their armies were ranged in battle, some of them would advance from the ranks to challenge to single combat the bravest of their enemies. If their challenge were accepted, the Gaulish champions would chant a war song, boasting of the glorious deeds of their forefathers, and insulting their opponents. After victory, it was their custom to cut off their enemy's head, and to carry it away with songs of triumph, slung at their horse's pommel or neck. These were kept as trophies of their valour, bathed in oil of cedar, and preserved in coffers.

The religion of the Gauls was much the same as that of Britain, and their priests, the Druids, formed one hierarchy on both sides the channel. The sacerdotal caste comprised three classes—the bards, the eubages or prophets, and the Druids, besides various divinities. The Gauls gave worship to the material forces of nature—thunder, the winds, the stars; to rivers, fountains, trees, and forests. The Rhine was adored as a god, and the vast forest of Ardennes, extending from the Rhine to the Scheldt, received equal veneration as a goddess. They deified, also, the virtues and the arts, Teutatès, god of commerce and inventor of the arts; Ogmios, god of eloquence and of poetry; Hesus, god of war.

The Druids, as in Britain, were exempt from military service and from taxes, and with the knights and nobles monopolized public consideration and honours. The people were little better than slaves, exposed to the violence of the great, burthened with taxes, and consequently oppressed with debts. Of the three sacerdotal castes, the bards sang or chanted in heroic verse or rhythmic words, to the sound of their lyres, the lofty deeds of men, or turned to derision disgraceful actions. The eubages, or prophets, tried by meditation to explain the order and marvels of nature, whilst the Druids occupied their meditations on the sublimer subjects in the supernatural order, and the immortality of the soul.

The privileges of the sacerdotal caste drew many disciples, and we can imagine the despotism exercised over an unlettered and superstitious nation, by men who claimed to be the depositories of all knowledge, framers of all law, human or divine, judges, and executioners.

The knights were all bound to take up arms on the first notice of war, and that was rarely wanting. Each knight was accompanied, according to his rank and fortune, by a greater or less number of esquires or attendants; two was the more usual number, but some of their chiefs or kings would possess as many as five or six hundred followers. When their chief died or was slain, few of them would survive him.

We have before mentioned that the three great divisions or regions into which Gaul was partitioned were again sub-divided into states, called by the Romans *civitates*, a term synonymous with nations. Each of these states, of which there were twenty-seven in Belgic Gaul, forty-three in Celtic, and twelve in Aquitaine, besides seven in the Narbonese, had its own organisation and government. Alliances were formed among the

different tribes, either *permanent*, founded on affinities of races or other interests, or, again, an occasional alliance or union of the states under one king, prince, or *vergobret*, against a common danger. The chief of the privileged state, thus raised in emergency to pre-eminence, took the name of *princeps totius Gallie*. This supremacy, though not permanent, as it passed from one nation to another, was the object of continual ambition and of sanguinary conflicts. The result of this egotistical and jealous rivalry among the different tribes was to frustrate the efforts of a few eminent men who were able to look beyond individual considerations, to collective interests, and were desirous of founding a nationality; whilst the dissensions of the Gauls amongst themselves furnished an easy means to the enemy of vanquishing them in detail. The same state of things brought about the subjugation of Britain, for there, as in Gaul, though the Druids had succeeded in establishing in each country a religious centre, there was no political centre in either Gaul or Britain, and no national spirit.

In Gaul, each state and each tribe was divided into two parties, or factions; at the head of these factions were chiefs taken from the most influential of the knights, called by the Romans *principes*; all those who ranged themselves on the side of one or the other of these chiefs became his clients, and it was the duty of the *principes* to offer to each man of the people protection and patronage. This organization had existed from remote antiquity. The general meeting of these *principes* formed the assembly of the whole of Gaul, or, as the Romans styled it, *consilium totius Gallie*. Affairs of the state were treated in these assemblies, named also the senate by the Romans. When the country was threatened by a great danger, an armed council was convoked by the chiefs, and a certain place and day were indicated to which the men were bound to repair for deliberation. It was required by the law that the man who arrived last was to be pitilessly massacred before the eyes of the assembled chiefs.

When intelligence of importance had to be transmitted to a great distance, men were placed at certain intervals through the country, who repeated the news *vivâ voce* until it reached its destination, with wonderful rapidity.

Many centuries before the Romans had gained a footing in Gaul, multitudes of the restless and warlike Gaulish tribes migrated, not only to neighbouring countries, but to distant lands. The monarchs of Asia, the kings of Macedonia, of Epirus, of Carthage, of Syracuse, and of Egypt, paid a high price for their

services. In Iberia, after mingling with the natives, they formed the nation of the Celtiberians, who offered the greatest resistance to the Roman arms in the Iberian peninsula. They peopled also all the southern coasts of Britain. For more than ten centuries before our era, though their history is involved in obscurity, the accounts of their ancient expeditions bear witness to an organization already powerful, and the enterprising character of the Gaulish race. Sprung from a common origin with the Cimbri and Teutones, these people formed as it were the rear-guard of the great army of invasion which at an unknown epoch had brought the Celts into Gaul from the shores of the Black Sea.

At the time when Rome was beginning to aim at dominion, the Celts were spreading beyond their frontiers. During the reign of Tarquin the elder, two expeditions set out from Celtic Gaul. One crossed the Rhine and entered Southern Germany, to descend upon Illyria and Pannonia (Western Hungary); the other, scaling the Alps, settled in Italy, in the country lying between the Alps and the Padus, or Po. The invaders soon transferred themselves to the right bank of that river, until the whole of the territory between the Alps and the Apennines took the name of Cisalpine Gaul. More than two centuries later, the descendants of those Gaulish tribes marched upon Rome, and burnt all the city except the Capitol. Still a century later, fresh bands issued from Gaul, and reaching Thrace by the valley of the Danube, ravaged Northern Greece, bringing back to Toulouse the riches plundered from the Temple of Delphi. Others, passing by Byzantium, crossed into Asia, and established their dominion over the whole region on this side Mount Taurus, since called Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia, and until the time of the war of Antiochus maintained it in a sort of military feudalism.

During a period of nearly two centuries, from the year 364 to 531 of Rome, she struggled against the Cisalpine Gauls, and more than once her very existence was placed in jeopardy by the defeat of her armies. The conquest of Northern Italy was effected, as it were, foot by foot, the Romans strengthening it as they advanced by the establishment of colonies.

Hardly had the north of Italy been placed under the supremacy of the republic when Hannibal's invasion (536th year of Rome) caused the insurrection of the inhabitants of those countries, who helped to increase the numbers of his army, and even after that great leader was obliged to quit Italy, the Cisalpine Gauls continued to regain their independence during thirty-four years. This disturbed state was continued in partial insurrections. Rome

had not only to combat the Cisalpines assisted by the Gauls beyond the Alps, but also to make war upon the men of their race in Asia (A.U.C. 565), and in Illyria.

At length, in A.U.C. 600, the Romans were called to the assistance of the Greek town of Marseilles, attacked by two of the Ligurian tribes of the Maritime Alps, and then for the first time the Roman legions carried their arms beyond the Alps. They followed the course of the Corniche, along the shores of the Gulf of Genoa. It was only after a struggle of eighty years that they obtained from the Ligurians a narrow passage on the coast to enable them to pass from Gaul into Spain.

Not long after, for the second time, Marseilles was attacked by the people of the Maritime Alps, and again the Romans were implored by the people of Marseilles to come to their assistance. A year or two later, the proconsul Sextius Calvinus founded the town of Aix (Aquæ Sextiæ), after driving back the Gauls from the coast.

These expeditions had given the Romans a footing on the coast; by contracting alliances they penetrated farther inland. The next colony founded was that of Narbo-Marcus, which gave its name to the Roman province of Narbonensis.

For several centuries the movement which had thrust the peoples of the north towards the south had slackened, but about the seventh century from the foundation of Rome it had recommenced with greater vigour than ever. The Cimbri and the Teutones, after ravaging Noricum and Illyria, and defeating the army sent to protect Italy, had penetrated by the valley of the Rhine to the country of the Helvetii; uniting with a part of that people, they entered Gaul, and for several years spread terror and desolation wherever they appeared. The Belgæ alone ventured to offer a vigorous resistance.

In order to protect her province, Rome sent against them, or the tribes of the Helvetii with whom they were allied, five generals, who were successively vanquished. Of these the two latter lost their armies, and the very existence of Rome was in danger.

Two great victories gained by Marius, one over the Teutones at Aix, and another not far from the Adige, over the Cimbri, destroyed the barbarians, and saved Rome. B.C. 102. Until towards the end of the seventh century, Rome was too occupied with intestine wars to push her conquests beyond the Alps; and even when internal peace was restored, her generals, such as Sylla, Metellus, Lucullus, and Pompey, preferred the easy and more lucrative conquests of the East. Until the time

of Cæsar, the Roman generals were satisfied with repelling the Gauls, thinking rather of putting a stop to their aggressions than of carrying the war among them. Marius himself did not penetrate to their towns and homes; he confined himself to opposing a barrier to these torrents of peoples which were inundating Italy. Cæsar alone resolved to subject Gaul to Roman dominion. Before him, to resist the Celtic peoples established on either side of the Alps had been the constant pre-occupation of the Romans during several centuries. They had looked upon Gaul as the most redoubtable enemy of Rome: in fact, whenever a war against the Gauls was pending, a dictator was immediately nominated, and a levy *en masse* ordered; a special treasure was also deposited in the Capitol, which it was forbidden to touch, except in that eventuality. This long antagonism between these two warlike peoples must necessarily end in a desperate struggle, and the ruin of one of the two adversaries. If Cæsar had been vanquished by the Helvetii or the Germans, who can tell what would have been the fate of Rome, overwhelmed, as she might have been, by the numberless hordes of the North, eagerly rushing upon Italy? For these reasons no war excited so intensely the public feeling at Rome as that with Gaul. Pompey, who carried the Roman eagles to the shores of the Caspian and, by the tribute he imposed, doubled the revenues of Rome, had only ten days of thanksgiving decreed to him. The senate decreed fifteen and even twenty for Cæsar's victories, and in honour of them offered sacrifices during sixty days.

CHAPTER II.

CONQUEST OF GAUL BY JULIUS CÆSAR (B.C. 68—50.)

AMONG the most important nations of Celtic Gaul were the Ædui (the allies of the Roman people), the Averni, the Sequani, and the Helvetii. The first three of these peoples often disputed the supremacy of Gaul. At the time when Cæsar had received from the senate and people a command which comprised the two Gauls—Transalpine and Cisalpine—and Illyria, the Ædui had sent their chief, Divitiacus, to Rome, to implore the succour of the republic against the Sequani, who, with the aid of the famous Ariovistus and his Germans of the Rhine, had taken a part of their territory, after obliging them to give up as hostages

their children and their chiefs. Some of the *Ædui* addressed themselves to their neighbours, the *Helvetii*, who at that time had resolved to emigrate *en masse* from their sterile and inhospitable mountains to a more fertile part of Gaul, in the country of the *Santones* (the *Saintonge*). When *Cæsar* heard that the *Helvetii* were preparing to pass through Gaul on their way to the *Santones*, he determined to oppose them, unwilling to permit the establishment of this warlike and hostile nation in the very heart of an open and fertile country, not farther than thirty or forty leagues from the *Tolosates*, or people of *Tolosa* (*Toulouse*), incorporated into the Roman province. *Cæsar*, therefore, first turned his arms against the *Helvetii*, and after three sanguinary battles, obliged them to retreat. Their numbers were reduced from an agglomeration of 368,000 individuals—men, women,



THE DRUIDS.

and children, dragging after them from 8000 to 9000 waggons, conveying a provision of meal for three months, as well as forage, and probably some baggage—to about 110,000 emigrants, rather less than a third of their original numbers. This remnant of the *Helvetii*, forced to return to the localities they had abandoned, made their submission to *Cæsar*, and the chiefs of nearly all Celtic Gaul next solicited his support against the Germans and *Ariovistus*. The Germans were separated from the Gauls by the *Rhine*, from its mouth to the *Lake of Constance*. Amongst the

most warlike and powerful of their tribes, the Suevi held the first rank ; they were divided into a hundred cantons, each of which furnished yearly a thousand men for war, and the same number of men for agriculture, changing alternately from one to the other. The land was possessed by all in common, and was separated by no boundaries, and no one could prolong his residence on the same lands beyond a year. Milk and flesh were their habitual nourishment. They drank no wine, and consumed but little wheat. When other food failed, they fed upon grass. Uncontrolled from infancy, they were intrepid hunters ; insensible to cold, they bathed in the waters of their rivers, hardly covering their bodies with the skins of animals. Thus insured to hardships of every kind, they were of prodigious force and stature. They rode, without saddles, their own ill-looking and ill-shaped horses : these were, however, indefatigable, like their masters, and needed no other nourishment than the brushwood, which grew everywhere. Savage in manners, the Suevi despised commerce, of which they had no need, though the more civilized of the German peoples on the banks of the Rhine were placed by their position in relation with foreign merchants, and with their neighbours, the Gauls. The belief in the immortality of the soul strengthened in them their contempt for life.

Two immense forests extended from west to east across Germany, commencing not far from the Rhine ; these were the Hercynian and Bacenis forests. The former had a breadth of nine long days' march. The Suevi inhabited the country to the south of the forest of Bacenis, though it is difficult to fix the localities occupied at this period by the German peoples, for they were nearly all nomadic, and were continually pressing one upon the other.

It was against these formidable neighbours that the Gaulish chiefs solicited the further help of Cæsar, and more especially against Ariovistus.

The German king, they said, had taken advantage of the quarrels which divided the different peoples of Gaul. Called in formerly by the Averni and the Sequani, he had gained, with their co-operation, several victories over the Ædui, in consequence of which the latter had to submit to the most humiliating conditions. Soon after, the yoke grew hardly less heavy on the Sequani themselves, who, though conquerors with him, were more wretched than the vanquished Ædui. Ariovistus had seized a third of their territory, and the Germans, to the number of 120,000, were already in Gaul. In a few years, the invasion of Gaul by the Germans would be general ; contingents of the Suevi

were already on the banks of the Rhine. Cæsar alone could protect them by his prestige, and by that of the Roman name—by the force of his arms, and the fame of his recent victories.

Gaul thus threw herself into the arms of Cæsar, and chose him as the arbiter of her destiny. Cæsar did not hesitate to accept the trust. He saw a substantial danger for the republic in the constant immigration of fierce and barbarous peoples, who, if once masters of Gaul, would not fail to imitate the Cimbri and the Teutones, and invade the Roman province, and from thence fall upon Italy.

Ariovistus refused with disdain an interview proposed by Cæsar, in order to treat with him, and proudly said, "Cæsar ought to know as well as he the right of the conqueror, which admits of no interference in the treatment reserved for the vanquished. He cared little for threats: no one had ever braved Ariovistus with impunity. Let anybody attack him, and they would learn the valour of a people which for fourteen years had never sought shelter under a roof."

This dauntless reply hastened Cæsar's decision, especially as the country of his allies, the *Ædui*, was being devastated by the German tribe of the *Harudes*, and the hundred cantons of the *Suevi*, numbering 100,000 fighting men, were preparing to cross the Rhine. He advanced, therefore, against the Germans by forced marches, starting from the neighbourhood of *Tonnerre*, and hearing that Ariovistus was moving with all his troops to besiege *Vesontio* (*Besançon*), the most considerable place of the *Sequani*, Cæsar advanced both day and night, obtained possession of the town, or *oppidum*, and Ariovistus, altering his intention, determined to await the Roman army in the plain of *Alsace*, where he could advantageously make use of his numerous cavalry.

It was during the few days passed at *Besançon* that a general panic took possession of the Roman soldiers. Public rumour represented the Germans as men of gigantic stature, of unconquerable valour, and of terrible aspect. The panic began amongst the younger men, who had followed Cæsar with the hope of obtaining celebrity without trouble; but it soon spread from these volunteers, and gained the whole army. Cæsar, surprised at this unwelcome state of feeling, called a council. He sharply reproached the assembled chiefs, reminded them that under *Marius* their fathers had driven out the Cimbri and the Teutones, that more recently they had defeated the German race in the revolt of the slaves, that the *Helvetii* had often beaten the Germans, and that

they, in their turn, had just beaten the Helvetii. The care of the war was his business; he was impatient to know if among his soldiers fear would prevail over honour and duty. If the army should refuse to follow, he would start alone with the tenth legion, of which he would make his prætorian cohort.

Cæsar always loved this legion, and always placed the greatest confidence in it. His words had the desired effect, and on the morrow he began his march towards the valley of the Rhine. Instead of crossing the northern part of the Jura chain, he conducted his army through an open country, turning the mountainous and difficult country, much covered with wood, and broken, which would have been the more direct route; and on the seventh day after leaving Besançon, he learned by his scouts that Ariovistus and his army were only at a distance from him of some four and twenty miles.

Ariovistus sent word to Cæsar that he consented to an interview, and Cæsar did not reject this overture. The two chieftains met near a knoll in the centre of a vast plain which extended between the two armies. Cæsar repeated his conditions, but Ariovistus, instead of accepting them, put forward his own claims: "He had only crossed the Rhine at the prayer of the Gauls; the lands he had been accused of having seized had been ceded to him; the part, therefore, he occupied belonged to him, as that occupied by the Romans belonged to them; his rights of conquest were older than those of the Roman army. Cæsar was only in Gaul to ruin it; if he did not withdraw, Ariovistus would regard him as an enemy, but if left in free possession of Gaul, he would assist in all the wars that Cæsar might undertake."

Cæsar insisted that it was one of the principles of the republic not to abandon its allies; he did not consider that Gaul belonged to Ariovistus any more than to the Roman people; Gaul ought to be free, since the senate had willed she should preserve her own laws.

The conference then terminated, the cavalry of Ariovistus having employed themselves during the conversation in throwing darts and stones at the Romans. A day or two after, the German king took up another position at the foot of the Vosges, in order to cut off Cæsar's communication with Sequania and the Æduan country. During five days Cæsar drew up his troops in order of battle, but could not provoke the Germans to fight; unable to account for this reluctance on the part of Ariovistus to engage in a general battle, Cæsar questioned his prisoners, and learned that

the matrons charged with consulting destiny had declared that the Germans could not be conquerors if they fought before the new moon.

The next day, Cæsar drew up his legions once more, and marching forward, led them up to the enemy's camp. This offensive movement left the Germans no choice. They descended into the plain, and drew up in line by order of nations, at equal distances—Harudes, Marcomanni, Suevi, Triboces, Vangiones, Nemetes, and Saducii; then, to deprive themselves of all possibility of flight, they enclosed themselves on the sides and in the rear by a circuit of carriages and waggons, on which they placed their women, who, dishevelled and in tears, implored the warriors not to deliver them in slavery to the Romans.

Cæsar led the attack in person, and placed at the head of each legion one of his lieutenants, or his quæstor. The signal given, the legions dashed forwards, and the enemy, on his side, rushed to the encounter. The impetuosity was so great on both sides that the Romans, not having time to use the pilum, or throw it away, fought hand to hand with the sword. To resist this attack the Germans formed hastily into phalanxes of three to four hundred men, and covered their bare heads with their bucklers. They were pressed so close together that even when dead they still remained standing. The short and sharp-pointed swords of the Romans had the advantage over the long swords of the Germans. Nevertheless, the legions owed their victory chiefly to the superiority of their tactics and the steadiness with which they kept their ranks. The left had given way; the right, forming in deep masses, pressed the Romans hard, but succour being sent to the wavering legions, the rout became general, and the Germans desisted from flight only when they reached the Rhine, fifty miles from the field of battle. Cæsar pursued them with his cavalry, and all who were overtaken were cut to pieces; the rest attempted to swim across the Rhine, or sought safety in boats. Ariovistus was amongst the fugitives. He succeeded in reaching the right bank, where he collected the remnant of his army, but he died shortly after, perhaps of his wounds. Two of the wives of the German king were killed—one was a Suevi, the other a Norician. Of his two daughters, one was killed, and the other taken prisoner. 80,000 men perished in the combat, or during the pursuit. Thus in one single campaign Cæsar concluded two great wars.

CHAPTER III.

CONQUEST OF GAUL (CONTINUED).

THESE brilliant successes gained over the Helvetii and the Germans saved the republic from an immense danger, but at the same time aroused the distrust and jealousy of most of the nations of Gaul. Cæsar had left his Roman army in winter quarters among the Sequani. This caused great irritation among the Belgæ, who feared it would be their turn to be attacked when Celtic Gaul was once reduced to peace. A formidable league was formed between the different tribes of Belgic Gaul. On learning these events, Cæsar, who was in the Cisalpine province, hastened back early in the ensuing spring to rejoin his legions in person. He received information from the Senones, a tribe established between the Loire and the Marne, and other Celts who bordered upon Belgic Gaul, that an army was being assembled. Cæsar at once decided upon entering into campaign.

Within a fortnight Cæsar marched from Besançon to the territory of the Remi, whose chief town was Rheims. The route he took is still marked by the numerous vestiges of the Roman road which joined Vesontio (Besançon) with Duro Cortorum (Rheims). The army of Cæsar amounted to about 60,000 men, 40,000 of which would be infantry; added to these, one third consisted of auxiliaries, Cretan archers, slingers, and Numidians, a body of Æduan troops, and 5000 cavalry, besides a considerable number of drivers and men for the machines.

Astonished at his sudden appearance, the Remi sent two of the first personages of the country to make their submission, and to offer provisions and every kind of help. They informed Cæsar that the whole of the Belgæ were in arms, and amounted in all to about 296,000 men, under a king named Galba, who had been entrusted by all the allies with the chief command.

Cæsar required the senate of the Remi to repair to his presence, and the children of their *principes* to be given up to him as hostages; he also induced the Æduan troops, and their leader, Divitiacus, to ravage the country of the Bellovaci (occupying the greater part of the department of the Oise to the sea), with whom they were on friendly relations, as a means of dividing the hostile forces; then, on the information that Galba was moving towards him, he crossed the extremity of the territory of the Remi, and, after taking up a strong position on the other side of the Aisne, he awaited the enemy's attack. They, on their side, had marched

towards Cæsar, and halted at less than two miles from his camp, their fires indicating a front of more than 8000 paces (twelve kilometres).

(B.C. 57.) The high renown of the Belgæ for courage induced Cæsar to postpone a battle until he had engaged them every day in combats with his cavalry, which was composed of Gauls. In his own legions he had all confidence. Once certain that the valour of his troops was not inferior to that of the enemy, he resolved to draw on a general action, and placed his legions in array of battle. The enemy also drew out his troops, and deployed them in the face of the Romans. The two armies remained in observation, each waiting for a favourable moment for attack. Cæsar at length withdrew his legions, and the Belgæ immediately left their position and moved towards the Aisne, with the intention of intercepting the convoys of provisions, and to ravage the country of the Remi, whence the Romans drew their supplies. Cæsar, apprised of their movements and designs, came up with them, and an obstinate struggle took place on the banks of the Aisne, which being unfavourable to the Belgæ, they retreated homewards, in order to be ready to succour the country which might first be invaded by the Roman army. The chief cause of this decision was the news of the invasion of the country of the Bellovaci by Divitiacus and the Ædui, and the determination of the Bellovaci not to lose a single instant in hastening to the defence of their hearths. Their retreat was so precipitate that it resembled flight, and many were slain by the cavalry sent by Cæsar in pursuit. The Suessiones, whose principal oppidum was Noviodunum (Soissons), submitted. Cæsar then led his army into the country of the Bellovaci, who had shut themselves up in their oppidum, Bratuspantium (Breteuil). When within five miles, all the aged men came to him to implore his generosity. Divitiacus interceded for them. Cæsar pardoned them, as well as the Suessiones, but as the Bellovaci were the most powerful nation of Belgic Gaul, he required them to give up their arms and six hundred hostages. The Bellovaci declared that the promoters of the war, seeing the misfortunes they had drawn upon their country, had fled into the isles of Britain. It is curious to remark the relation which existed at this epoch between part of Gaul and Britain. Cæsar mentions in his "Commentaries" that a certain Divitiacus, an Æduan chieftain, the most powerful in all Gaul, had formerly extended his power into the isle of Britain, and we have just mentioned that the chiefs in the struggle against the Romans had found a refuge in the British Isles.

A more obstinate enemy, the Nervii (people of Hainault), resolved to refuse peace on any condition. This wild and intrepid people reproached the other Belgæ for having submitted to foreigners, and prepared to resist the Romans to the death. Cæsar left Amiens, and marched towards the territory of the Nervii until within ten miles of the Sambre. In order to impede the Roman cavalry; the Nervii formed thick hedges by notching and then bending young trees horizontally, the numerous branches of which they interlaced and mingled with brambles and brushwood, through which nothing could pass. Concealing themselves in the woods, they watched for the arrival of the Romans. Cæsar was ignorant of their exact position, when suddenly, just as his legions were preparing to encamp—some being engaged in digging the fosses, others spread over the country in search of timber and turf—the whole force of the enemy issued from the forest, and fell upon them. The Nervii rushed upon the cavalry, and put it to rout; others crossed the shallow waters of the Sambre, across which a portion of the army had passed, and with incredible rapidity scaled the slopes. The Roman army was taken off its guard. In this critical situation, the experience of the soldiers acquired in so many combats, and the presence of the lieutenants with each legion, enabled each to take by his own impulse the best position. The impetuosity of the enemy was such that the soldiers had not time even to put on their helmets. Each man abandoned his labours, and ran to range himself under the first standard he fell in with. The legions, separated from each other by the artificial barriers or hedges above mentioned, could not lend mutual assistance. The confusion was general; everything was ruled by accident. Cæsar could do little more than hasten from one legion to another with words of encouragement: Sword in hand, the ninth and tenth legions drove the enemy down the hill they had just climbed, and into the Sambre, crossed the river at their heels, and slew a great number.

Again they formed and renewed the combat; but the Romans repulsed them anew, and took possession of the Gaulish camp. In the centre the enemy was forced back upon the Sambre; but on the right wing the legions had to meet the full force of the Nervii, composed of 60,000 men. These intrepid warriors had dashed across the Sambre, and boldly climbed the escarpments of the bank, throwing themselves in close rank on two of the legions left there without support; some moved towards the summit of the heights, to seize the camp; others outflanked the legions on the right wing. It was believed all was lost; in this extreme

danger, Cæsar judged he could only hope for succour from himself; without buckler, he seized that of a legionary, and rushed to the first line: his words and example restored hope and revived their wavering courage. The legions again resisted with firmness, and Labienus, at the head of the victorious ninth and tenth legions, seeing from the Gaulish camp he had just captured the extreme danger of the right, sent the tenth legion to repass the Sambre, and fall upon the rear of the Nervii.

The whole aspect of the combat now changed; the wounded supported themselves on their bucklers; the cavalry strove to efface the disgrace of their panic, and to outdo the reinforcements in courage. The watch and drivers of the camp, who before had dispersed in terror and dismay, now threw themselves unarmed upon the armed Nervii, who fought with the obstinacy of despair. When the first rank fell, the next rank mounted upon their bodies, and were slain in their turn; the dead formed heaps, and the survivors still resisted from the top of this mountain of corpses, sending back upon the Romans their own pila. They met death to the last man, leaving a hecatomb of dead as a proof of the desperation with which they fought, and how narrowly the fortune of Cæsar had escaped wreck.

The coalitions of the peoples of the north succeeded each other like waves of the sea. After crushing the impetuosity of the Belgæ, Cæsar marched on Namur, and took it, whilst one of his lieutenants, Publius Crassus, sent after the battle of the Sambre into Normandy and Brittany, reduced to submission all the tribes of Armorica, so that at that time the greatest part of Gaul acknowledged the authority of the republic. But Gaul was only vanquished, not subjugated—ever ready for revolt. Her neighbours, the Britons and Germans, secretly incited her to rise against the Roman yoke.

(B.C. 56.) The Veneti, or people of Morbihan, had a considerable fleet, and had entered into alliance with all the maritime nations between the Loire and the Scheldt, besides receiving assistance from Britain, with which country they had constant commercial relations. As soon as they had raised the standard of disaffection, Cæsar repaired in person to the neighbourhood of Nantes, not far from Angers, where his lieutenant, Publius Crassus, was in winter quarters. From thence he distributed his troops as follows, in order to establish the sway of Rome more firmly over the vast territory he had vanquished. Labienus was sent in the direction of Trèves, to hold the Germans in check; Publius Crassus was to subdue Aquitaine; Sabinus was to move

towards Normandy, to put down the insurgents of the Cotentin. Cæsar kept for himself the operations in the Morbihan.

The galleys and sailors sent from Italy under Decimus Brutus—uniting with the fleet which Cæsar had ordered to be built on the Loire, as well as with the ships contributed by the tribes of the Charente and the Gironde—destroyed the Gaulish fleet, and the flower of Brittany perished in the combat. Morbihan submitted to Cæsar; his general, Sabinus, was victorious over the people of Normandy; and the young lieutenant of Cæsar, Publius Crassus, reduced Aquitaine. The Gauls of the Boulonnais retired into their forests, and the sea was open—a Roman fleet had been victorious in the waters of the Morbihan. Then Cæsar determined to pass into Britain, when he was called to the Meuse to disperse a fresh emigration of tribes of German origin, who, to escape the oppression of the Suevi, had passed the Rhine not far from its mouth. They numbered 400,000, of all ages and both sexes, and sought new lands to settle in. The van of the emigration had already reached to the country near Liège and Aix-la-Chapelle, when they heard that Cæsar was approaching the Meuse and the Rhine. They concentrated their forces towards the confluence of these two rivers; but attacked unexpectedly, the Germans were routed with much slaughter, whilst the victory did not cost the Romans a single man. Cæsar thought it expedient to put a stop to the incursions of the Germans into Gaul, by proving to them that the Romans could cross the Rhine and follow them up even to their homes. The Sicambri had told Cæsar that the empire of the Roman people ended with the Rhine, when he had asked them to deliver up the fugitive cavalry of the Germans he had just beaten. Cæsar, by way of reply—in spite of the obstacles presented by a wide, deep, and rapid river—threw a bridge of piles across it at Bonn, after only ten days' work, and marched towards the territory of the Sicambri, who, on seeing the erection of the bridge, fled to seek refuge in their deserts and forests. Having thus intimidated the Germans, and thinking it imprudent to penetrate amidst the vast forests of an unknown country in pursuit, he returned into Gaul and caused the bridge to be broken.

CHAPTER IV.

INVASION OF BRITAIN (B.C. 55).

AFTER these successes, Cæsar, who had long projected the invasion of Britain, to demand a reckoning for the succour which in almost all his wars—and particularly in that of the Veneti (people of Morbihan)—they had sent to the Gauls, now determined, as he had been the first to carry a Roman army across the Rhine, to be first also to lead the Roman eagles across the channel to Britain—a country previously the subject of the most mysterious tales and speculations; and though the summer was far advanced, Cæsar left Bonn and proceeded towards Boulogne. Taking advantage of a favourable wind, after a sail of a few hours Cæsar perceived from his ship the white cliffs covered with armed men. The spot being unfavourable for landing, Cæsar proceeded about seven miles to the east, and having doubled the South Foreland, he stopped before the level shore which extends from the Castle of Walmer to Deal. The Romans effected a landing, after considerable opposition on the part of the natives, and they established their camp near the sea, on the heights of Walmer; the galleys were hauled on the strand, and the transport ships left at anchor not far from the shore.

The army had been only four days in Britain, when in a violent tempest the transport vessels were broken on the coast or disabled; the ships which were bringing over the cavalry were dispersed, and the galleys on the beach submerged. The consternation was general, and the British chiefs determined to annihilate the invaders before they could repair the damage and leave the island. Whilst the vessels were being repaired, the seventh legion, which had gone out to gather wheat, were suddenly attacked, and, but for the timely appearance of Cæsar at the head of his cohorts, the legionaries might have succumbed. Some days after, the Roman camp was attacked by the assembled Britons, but they could not sustain the shock long, and the legionaries made a great slaughter, and ravaged the country within a wide circuit. Requiring hostages to be sent to him on the continent, Cæsar—after a stay of eighteen days in Britain—set sail himself, and regained Gaul without material loss of any kind, and the army was established in winter quarters among the Belgæ. On the news of these successes, the Roman senate decreed twenty days of thanksgiving.

(*b.c.* 54.) The year following, Cæsar planned another descent on Britain. This time he took over several legions and a formidable fleet. He landed without opposition, and established his camp in a good position by the sea, near Deal. As soon as he knew where the enemy was, Cæsar proceeded towards them on the heights of Kingston, where they were posted beyond a stream of water now called the Little Stour. The Britons sent forward their cavalry to the banks of the stream, but being repulsed, retired into a forest, the avenues of which were closed up by *abattis* of felled trees. The soldiers of the seventh legion having formed the tortoise, and pushed covered siege-machines up to the enclosure, obtained possession without sensible loss, and drove the barbarians out of the wood. Day after day skirmishes took place, but at length being worsted, the Britons determined to confine themselves to harassing the Roman army, and drag on the war; but, penetrating their designs, Cæsar resolved to advance towards the Thames and promptly terminate the campaign.

The brave British king, Cassivellaunus, endeavoured to dispute the passage of the Roman legions across the Thames, but in vain; and through the treachery of the Trinobantes, and other British tribes, Cæsar reached and attacked St. Albans, the oppidum of Cassivellaunus. In the meanwhile, this British chief had ordered four of the kings of Kent to attack and destroy the camp in which the Roman ships were enclosed, but this proving a failure, Cassivellaunus offered his submission, and receiving hostages, Cæsar once more re-embarked with his army, after a campaign successful at least in glory. Cæsar was very proud of his expeditions into Britain, and everybody in Rome was enthusiastic about it. People congratulated each other as if a new world had been discovered; and during fifteen days sacrifices were performed to celebrate the Roman successes in Britain.

The following winter Cæsar had to pass in Gaul, the disturbed state of the country rendering this necessary. From the Scheldt to the Rhine, and from the Seine to the Loire, most of the people were in arms, and the Suevi had been called to the assistance of the people of Trèves. Cæsar soon forced the Hainauters into submission. Having appeased the north and centre, he resolved to make two expeditions—one into Brabant, the other into the country of Trèves, in order to avenge the defeat of Sabinus, one of his lieutenants. He reached once more the Rhine, near Bonn—a little above where, two years before, he had crossed the river—and again the Suevi fled for refuge into the interior of their

territory. Retracing his steps into Gaul, he next ravaged the country of Liège; and the defeat of Sabinus being avenged, and leaving his legions once more in winter quarters in the countries near the Marne, the Moselle, and the Yonne, he returned to Italy.

But Gaul was never long tranquil, for the contentions of the Roman republic, being known beyond the Alps, revived hopes that the Gauls might yet shake off the yoke of the foreigner. For the first time the hitherto divided tribes of Gaul united in one desire to re-conquer their independence. Vercingetorix placed himself at the head of this formidable insurrection, proclaiming, "If Gaul has the sense to be united and become one nation, it may defy the universe."

(B.C. 53.) The centre of this coalition of all the Gaulish peoples was in Auvergne; the mountains of the Cévennes forming a natural fortress. The perils and difficulties that awaited Cæsar when he reached Gaul acted rather as a stimulus; his plans were soon formed, in a little time the Roman province was placed in security, and Vercingetorix hastened before him to the defence of Auvergne. The Gaulish leader retired into Gergovia, a vast oppidum placed on almost inaccessible heights, in which the population of a province could retire. After blockading Gergovia for some time, Cæsar risked an assault of the place, and was repulsed with loss. The situation was critical, surrounded as he was on all sides. He marched toward the Loire in the direction of Sens, with the hope of joining Labienus, who, with four legions, had gone to subdue the Parisii, and after defeating them under the walls of Lutetia (Paris) situated on an island in the Seine, had hastened to meet Cæsar. The struggle was now not beyond his strength, though all was agitation from the coasts of the ocean to the Rhône.

Cæsar now abandoned that part of Gaul which had revolted, in order to approach nearer to the Roman province. Vercingetorix had assembled his army, amounting to more than 80,000 men. "The moment of victory has arrived, the Romans fly into their province, and abandon Gaul," said Vercingetorix to all the chiefs convoked in council. Informed of Cæsar's march, he had determined to attack him unawares, and the Gaulish cavalry took a solemn oath never to return to the home of their forefathers, their wives, or their children, if they had not ridden twice through the ranks of the enemy!

Taken unexpectedly, Cæsar and his legions, nevertheless, routed the Gaulish cavalry, and Vercingetorix retreated with his

infantry to Alesia, the oppidum of the Mandubii, Côte-d'Or. The ancient town of Alesia appears to have occupied the summit of Mount Auxois. Vercingetorix had only provisions for one month, but he hoped for succour from Gaul before that time expired. Meanwhile, the day on which the besieged had looked for the arrival of the army of succour was past; their provisions were exhausted. An Avernan chief (Puy-de-Dôme and Cantal) proposed to follow the example of their ancestors, who when shut up in their oppida during the wars of the Cimbri, ate the men who were unable to bear arms, rather than surrender; but this horrible advice was put off as a last resource, and the Mandubii who had received the Gaulish army within their walls were sent out with their wives and children. These unfortunates begged the Romans to take them as slaves, but to give them bread, but Cæsar would not receive them.

(B.C. 52.) At length an immense host advanced under two Æduan chiefs (Saône et Loire and the Nièvre), the Avernan (Puy-de-Dôme), cousin of Vercingetorix, and the Atrebatan (Artois and part of French Flanders), Commius, who during Cæsar's invasion of Britain had rendered signal service to him; but the eager desire of the Gauls to free their country extinguished all sentiments either of gratitude or friendship. These leaders with their army appeared before Alesia, and all prepared for a decisive blow. The Gauls were confident of success, and from the besieged, as well as the army of succour, were heard shouts of encouragement. From noon till sunset the battle raged, and remained uncertain, when the Germans in Cæsar's pay charged the enemy, put them to rout, and followed them to their camp. The besieged, who had sallied out of Alesia, returned within the oppidum in consternation. A second time the army of succour was repulsed. Vercasivellaunus, one of the four chiefs, and cousin to Vercingetorix, at the head of 60,000 men of the nations most renowned for their valour, made an assault upon part of the Roman camp, and the Romans with difficulty defended the different points of attack over their extended lines. Both sides were aware that the moment had arrived for the decisive struggle. If the Gauls could not force the lines, they would have no further chance of safety. If the Romans kept them off, they would have reached the end of their fatigues and dangers. On one point the Gauls nearly forced the entrenchments, but Labienus put them to flight, and the cavalry completed the victory. On Mount Auxois was decided the destiny of the world. There 400,000 men fought, on the one side for conquest and supremacy, on the other

for independence. Both were unconscious of the still higher stake for which they struggled—the cause of civilization hung on the cast of the die. The heroism of Vercingetorix and the other Gaulish chieftains, like that of our own British chiefs, Casivellaunus and Caractacus, seems to have deserved a better fate; but had Rome and her growing institutions then been eclipsed, for how long might not the world have had to languish in the darkness of paganism? In the successes of the Romans, therefore, we must recognize the workings of Providence.

Vercingetorix surrendered to the conqueror. The heroic defender of his country sought the presence of Cæsar. He arrived on horseback, clad in his finest arms. He dismounted, and laying down his sword and military ensigns, exclaimed: "Thou hast vanquished a brave man: thou the bravest of all!" There was a deep silence; the Gaulish chief bowed himself on his knees, and pressed the hands of his conqueror. All were moved to pity, but Cæsar was not touched. The brave chieftain was thrown into fetters, and after being exhibited in Cæsar's triumph at Rome, he languished in prison during six years, and was then put to death—a dark stain on the clemency of Cæsar.

Gaul never recovered the great disaster of the siege of Alesia. A last and eighth campaign sufficed to crush all resistance. The last town which offered Cæsar any resistance was Uxello-dunum, on the banks of the Dordogne. He cut off the water supply, and the Gauls, believing the drying up of the spring to be a prodigy, surrendered, and he inhumanly caused the hands of the defenders to be cut off B.C. 51—50. After visiting different parts of Gaul, Cæsar found that after eight years of sanguinary conflict, it was at length subjugated; and of all the noble chieftains who had fought for her independence, two only survived—Commius* and Ambiorix. These, banished from their country, died unknown.

CHAPTER V.

THE GALLO-ROMAN PERIOD.—FROM B.C. 51 TO A.D. 418.

In eight campaigns, Cæsar had taken eight hundred towns, subjugated three hundred different peoples, and had fought with three millions of men; a third of these died upon the field of

* Commius is thought to have found an asylum in England.

battle, or otherwise perished, and another third were reduced to slavery. Thus master of Gaul, Cæsar, followed the wise policy of treating the vanquished with clemency, attracting by this means the bravest of the Gaulish warriors into his legions, and turning their swords against his own enemies at Rome, when at the commencement of the civil war, inflamed by the rivalry between himself and Pompey, he crossed the Rubicon, and made himself master of Italy in sixty days. One legion, named *alauda*, from wearing the lark on the crest of their helmets—emblem of vigilance and lively gaiety—was formed entirely of Gauls, and rendered good service to Cæsar. The Gaulish lark, led by the Roman eagle, for the second time took Rome. Lastly, the proud Roman citizens saw with shame and grief, not only a Gaulish army fighting under its own eagles, but Gaulish senators seated between Cicero and Brutus. Cæsar, before his assassination, had become, like Alexander, odious to his own people; but was regretted by those he had conquered. "Such men have no special country, but belong to the world." Antony, one of the triumvirs, to whom, after the death of Cæsar, the government of the two Gauls was given, continued the policy of Cæsar; but when in the East, he assumed the state and dress of an eastern monarch, and desired to make Alexandria the capital of the empire, he alienated the Romans, and after his defeat at Actium, and subsequent death, Octavian, the other triumvir, on whom was conferred the title of emperor, the first of the Roman emperors, declared himself the redressor of Roman nationality, drove the Gauls from the senate, augmented their tribute money, occupied the country by a strong force of military colonists, and reduced Gaul to the state of a province.

LYONS, CAPITAL OF GAUL.

Augustus Cæsar chose Lyons, a newly-founded town in the colony of Vienne, instead of one of the older and more illustrious cities, as the seat of administration. Lyons was in fact most favourably situated on the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône, backed by the Alps, at no considerable distance from the Loire, and placed by the impetuosity of the Rhône in direct and rapid communication with the sea. Thus seated between the Narbonese and Celtica, Lyons might be likened to the eye of Italy, keeping all the different portions of the Gaulish province within view.

With the Roman government, the divinities of Rome were

soon after domesticated in Gaul; and amongst them altars were raised at Lyons, Narbonne, Arles, Saintes, and other places, to Augustus, "the sacred," or "the venerable," a title which was afterwards assumed by all the Roman emperors. As pontifex maximus, Augustus was also head of the Roman religion. The Druids long resisted these innovations, and all that remained of nationality amongst the Gauls—as was the case in Britain—sought a refuge near them. Their sanguinary rites were forbidden by Augustus, and they in return excited all the disaffected to revolt against the imperial government.

Tiberius retained the same severity towards the vanquished Gauls as Augustus. Driven into insurrection by the excessive tribute extorted from the Gaulish cities, which was increased by usury, or making use of this as a plea for revolt, it was secretly arranged that Julius Florus, a man of distinguished birth, whose ancestors had received the rights of Roman citizenship, was to raise the standard of revolt in Belgic Gaul, whilst Julius Sacrovir, a chief amongst the *Æduans*, a Druidic people, and equally distinguished by his birth and Roman citizenship, was to head the revolt amongst the neighbouring cities to his own. Florus and his adherents were intercepted and dispersed, as they sought to gain the forest of Ardennes, by the legions of the united armies of Vitellius and C. Silius, and Florus, followed to his secret retreat by his enemies, killed himself before he could be captured.

The revolt of Sacrovir was more difficult to suppress. He and his cohorts had taken possession of Autun, the capital of the *Æduans*, where the youth of the Gaulish nobility studied the liberal arts. These, Sacrovir looked upon as hostages to attach their fathers to his cause, so that he soon found himself at the head of 40,000 men; some 8000 of which were armed like the Roman legionaries. To these he joined the slaves destined to the arena as gladiators, encasing them in heavy armour, impenetrable to blows, but equally rigid and embarrassing. Silius with two legions, met the army of Sacrovir in a plain about twelve miles from Autun; his legionaries first attacked the men in armour, who stood like a wall, and overthrew them as if they were breaking the wall of a fortress, with hatchets and axes, leaving the inert mass dead, or unable to move when once upon the ground. The rest of the Gauls hardly made any resistance, and Sacrovir sought a momentary shelter in a neighbouring house, where, rather than yield, he and his companions killed each other after setting fire to the house, which served them as a funeral pyre.

Augustus and Tiberius were both severe administrators, and as true Romans, had drawn more tightly the links of unity which Cæsar and Antony had loosened. Their successors, Caligula, Claudius, and Nero, adopted an opposite course : as descendants of Antony, friend of the barbarians, they followed his example. Germanicus, father of Caligula, had shown similar policy, and Caligula himself, born at Trèves, and brought up far from Rome, amidst the armies of Germany and Syria, treated Rome with a contempt which in some degree explains the follies attributed to him, and which are otherwise so unaccountable, parodied and insulted all they revered at Rome, and, after the example of his hero Alexander, desired to be adored as a god, placing upon his own brow the diadem he tore from that of Jupiter, the supreme deity of Rome. Caligula had the most illustrious of the Gauls near his person, which was again an indignity offered to Roman pride.

Claudius was born at Lyons, and reared far from the capital of his future empire. His preference for the Greek language, his constant citations of Homer, his foreign habits and tastes, were all distasteful to the Romans. Claudius himself did not hide his predilection for the provincials of his empire. He wrote the history of the Etruscans, of Tyre, and of Carthage ; he at least endeavoured to preserve the memory of these people, and history may do him the justice to remember that he declared himself the protector of the slaves, forbidding masters to kill them, or to expose them when old and infirm to die of hunger, on an island of the Tiber. Had Claudius lived, he would have thrown open the gates of the city to the whole of the Western world—to Greeks, Spaniards, Britons, and Gauls. The Æduans he once more received into the senate as Cæsar had done. The discourse which Claudius pronounced on that occasion was engraven on bronze tablets, which are still preserved at Lyons, his birth-place ; it is the first authentic historical monument of French history.

Nero was also favourable to the Gauls ; he employed the Gaul Zenodorus to erect his statue, 120 feet in elevation, at the foot of the Capitol—the first monument which at Rome rivalled in height the lofty spires and towers of Christian architecture. Yet it was the Aquitanian Vindex who precipitated Nero, and raised in turn both Galba and Vitellius to the purple. Vespasian owed his throne to the Toulousian Becco, to the revolt of Civilis and that of Sabinus. The first was a Batavian chief, who, stung by personal resentment against Rome, united the Belgæ and the Batavians around him. The Druids, and especially the Druidess Veleda,

encouraged the revolt ; the war, however, ended in negotiations, and Civilis, who had aimed at forming a Gaulish empire, eventually retired into obscurity.

Sabinus, who considered himself a descendant of Cæsar, had himself proclaimed emperor at Langres. The Sequani, faithful to the Romans, soon extinguished his party, and Sabinus, after burning his house, from which a report of his death was spread abroad, retired to a solitary cave, where, with his faithful wife, Eponine, and two children, he lived during nine years without being discovered. At last his retreat was made known to Vespasian, who put them both to death—a very unnecessary act of cruelty. From that time Gaul became more and more incorporated with the empire ; her soil was covered with Roman monuments and Roman towns. She adopted the language, the commerce, the arts, and the civilization of Rome. But if Gaul was already Roman, the Romans, in return, frequented the schools of Marseilles instead of Athens, and at Autun, Toulouse, Lyons, Bordeaux, the most frequented of the Gaulish schools, Greek continued for very long to be the language employed in teaching both the proud Romans and the Gaulish barbarians. The Gauls also passed the Alps, not only in the Roman legions, but to take a high place amongst the learned professions ; as doctors, Pliny mentions no less than three who were immensely in vogue during the first century, and one of them gave about £40,000 of our money to repair the fortifications of his native town. Gaul also gave to Rome her great actor, Roscius ; the first universal history was written by Trogas Pompeius, a Gaul ; and another Celt, born near Marseilles, created the style of literature we call romance. It is said that Cæsar and Cicero were trained in eloquence by the Gaul Guipho ; therefore, if Rome gave its civilization to Gaul, the Gauls, in no inconsiderable measure, brought in fresh elements to Rome.

In the first century after Christ, Gaul had already *made* emperors ; during the second century, she had *given* emperors to Rome, and in the third century, her endeavour was to separate herself from the crumbling edifice, and to form a distinct Gallo-Roman empire. During these centuries, Gaul was the battlefield upon which the generals who disputed the empire, fought. Already formidable confederations of people in Germany had attempted at different periods to settle on the left bank of the Rhine. The empire was too enfeebled to force back this overwhelming tide of young and vigorous nations, ready to overflow the Roman provinces in all directions. The state of Gaul was

deplorable. The evil which undermined her and the foundations of Rome, and indeed all nations of antiquity, was *slavery*. This was the hateful system that Christianity was to combat. The pagan system was founded upon war and the subjugation of man—slavery was the natural growth of this system. We find it everywhere in the ancient world. Added to this, in Gaul, the heavy fiscal duties levied to supply the growing exigencies of the government and the cupidity of the civil functionaries, were exterminating the class of small independent cultivators; the large proprietors alone could hold their own for a time; but the free cultivation of the soil, and all industry, were at the lowest ebb; at length even the serfs were driven to desperation, and towards the end of the third century they took up arms under the name of the Brigantes. They chose two chiefs, who, according to tradition, were Christians. It was, at any rate, an outburst of the rights of man inspired by the doctrine of equality which certainly was Christian, though the excited multitude ravaged, pillaged, and burnt worse than the barbarians. The emperor Maximian dispersed the undisciplined multitude; but the world needed regeneration, and instead of a physical deluge, such as once before had cleansed from off the face of the earth its iniquitous generations, a new order of things was to be *infused* through the more merciful dispensation of the Christian code. It was Christianity which introduced moral as well as political liberty into the world; and neither opposition nor persecution could impede the spread of its salutary teachings. The world seemed lost; corruption and hopelessness amongst all that was termed civilized on one side, on the other a torrent of invading barbarians, which finally overthrew the tottering empire, and all that had been predestined to destruction. Christianity alone, in its apparent weakness, but supernatural strength, not only outlived the storm, but reconstituted society.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GERMANS, AND CHRISTIANITY.

THE people called by Providence to carry out this regenerating destruction were vaguely known to the Greeks and Romans under the name of Germans. Cæsar had perceived only the outposts of these innumerable swarms, and subjugated a few

detached tribes. Tacitus penetrated as far as the Elbe, and behind the undisciplined bands had a glimpse at the settled tribes. He even divined the most striking features of another civilization; but modern research alone has shown the unity of these divers nations—their Eastern origin, their distant relationship with those earlier nations who peopled Greece and Italy—by the help of the ancient poems of Scandinavia and Germany, the reflection of an incomplete civilization which has left its trace on our own.

That vast country which extends over the north of Europe from the Caspian to the Arctic Sea, with its boundless steppes, its pasture-ground, its marshes intercepted by tracts of coniferous trees, its interminable forests of sixty days' march—such was the nursery of the Germanic race. From the confines of Asia—its birth-place—we can follow the race from one region to the next, we can count the stages on its route, each halt forming a people—Getae, Goths, Lombards, Saxons, Burgundians, Scandinavians—until the solitudes of the north were peopled in the east, touching on ancient Persia, and by Persia on India—that cradle of all European races. Again, on the north and west, reaching to the snows of Norway and the North Sea, these unknown multitudes were gradually and silently encircling the vast empire of Rome, until, as they closed around her, she crumbled beneath their irresistible pressure.

Already the Gauls, enervated by the material civilization of their conquerors, had, as in Britain, deteriorated under its enfeebling effects. Germany once more brought to their memory the energy and valour of their Celtic forefathers. All this, however, is but the soil invigorated and prepared for the seed, and "The seed is the Word of God" sown broadcast over the land, to teach for the first time that singular and universal code of charity, that *all men are brothers*, and to enjoin further upon man to *love his enemies*, to be *merciful*, neither to *judge*, nor to *condemn*, and lastly, to *forgive*, as he *himself would wish to be forgiven*—Divine doctrine emanating from Divinity! The flood-gates of heaven were indeed opened, but this time not to destroy, but to restore.

The paganism of Rome had already lost all power over the mind, when, towards the middle of the second century, Christianity was introduced into Gaul by several priests of the Church at Smyrna, whom the bishop, St. Polycarp, disciple of the beloved apostle St. John, sent to preach the gospel beyond the Alps; at the head of the mission he placed the illustrious

Pothinus, first Bishop of Lyons: These pious missionaries established themselves in the capital of the Lyonese towards the year A.D. 177, and spread the light of truth before the perishing people; but they found all the pagan society adverse to their simple and sublime teaching. The sanguinary gladiatorial shows, the ungoverned licence, condemned by the new teaching, were too dear to be given up without resistance. Soon the edict of persecution was issued by Marcus Aurelius against the Christians, and the arenas were filled with willing victims: calmly, and even joyfully, these martyrs died for their faith. Eighteen thousand confessors were thrown to the lions, or died by the hands of the executioner. Blondine, a young slave, martyred by means of the most cruel tortures, repeated simply the words, "I am a Christian!" Bishop Pothinus, at the age of ninety, was stoned to death. "Who is the God of the Christians?" asked the governor, of the saintly martyr, in his agony. "Thou wilt know Him when thou art worthy," was the reply. Seven other bishops, sent by St. Irenæus throughout Gaul, all received the crown of martyrdom. The most celebrated amongst them was St. Denis, decapitated upon the mountain of Mars (Montmartre) at Lutetia (Paris), and buried in the plain which still retains his name. During the reign of Severus, another persecution decimated the Christians in Gaul, and amongst the martyrs were St. Irenæus, of Patmos, Bishop of Lyons.

For some years, Gaul had a period of repose under the administration of Cæsar Constantius Chlorus, who was called to the purple (A.D. 305) by the double abdication of Diocletian and Maximian. After him, his son Constantine, called the Great, was proclaimed emperor by the army. He it was who placed the Cross upon the throne, and put an end to the persecutions, and, like his father, he endeavoured to improve the prosperity of the cities of Gaul; but on his death, the barbarians drove back the Roman legions entrusted to guard the Rhine, to the Seine. The son of Constantine, the Emperor Constans, sent the celebrated Julian, called the apostate, his son, whom he had invested with the dignity of Cæsar, to the help of unhappy Gaul. He gained a memorable victory near Strasburg, in A.D. 357, over the Alemanni, which for a time kept the encroachments in abeyance.

Julian chose the capital of the Parisii, which he named his dear Lutetia, for his residence; and there the ruins of his palace of the Thermæ are still to be seen. A Christian until he succeeded Constans on the throne, he then abjured his faith, and desired

to put an end to the sect, had that been possible. The holy St. Martin lived at this time; born in Pannonia, he was brought up near the Tessin, in Italy. He embraced Christianity in his childhood, but, forced to be a soldier, he served in the army of Julian. The following legend is well known :—When stationed at Amiens, during a more than usually severe winter, he met near the gate of the city a poor man almost without any clothing. Every one turned a deaf ear to his supplications; Martin had nothing to give, but he wore a cloak; this he took off, and with his sword divided it into halves, of which he gave one to the beggar, to the great amusement of his companions. The legend says, the next night Jesus Christ appeared to St. Martin, wearing that portion of the mantle which the saint had shared with Him.

On quitting the army, St. Martin hastened to St. Hilary, bishop of Poitiers. Already the spirit of monasticism born in the East anterior to Christianity, changed its character when welcomed in the West. The contemplation and reverie of the anchorite were exchanged for a life of discipline and activity. When St. Athanasius was driven from Rome (A.D. 341), he was accompanied by several monks, and his example soon peopled all the small islands along the western coast of Italy by a multitude of hermits. It was from thence that St. Martin took into Gaul the traditions of Oriental monasticism, and towards A.D. 360 led to his founding the monastery of Ligugé, near Poitiers. Forty years later St. Honoratus established the abbey of Lérins, out of which came a number of celebrated men. These retreats became soon, not only great schools of theology, but true agricultural colonies, where manual labour and the cultivation of the soil, abandoned for so long to the labour of the slave, was once more placed in the hands of pious and free men. "The monks were the first cultivators of Europe, in the widest sense joining agriculture with teaching." St. Benedict, born A.D. 480, in his celebrated monastery of Monte Cassino, gave as a rule, which soon became general, that "Idleness is the enemy of the soul." Once more the world remembered that it was ordained for man to labour in the sweat of his brow. This was the fiat pronounced by the Almighty on all the descendants of Adam—a punishment laden with blessings. Upon this Christian basis of labour, as ennobling to man, the character of modern existence has been raised—the courterpoise of servitude and serfdom.

CHAPTER VII.

INVASION OF THE BARBARIANS, AND FALL OF THE WESTERN
EMPIRE.

TRADITION does not enable us to go beyond the time when the primitive inhabitants of Western Europe—the Celts or Gaëls (dwellers in the forests), and the still more ancient Iberians or Vasques (modern Basques), supposed to have crossed from North Africa into Spain and Gaul—already occupied, the former the north-east, the latter the south, of Gaul. Whether there were any migrations from Asia, anterior to the Iberians and, perhaps, Finns, we know not, but the human tide having once set in westwards, wave after wave reached the Rhine, sometimes forcibly kept back, again intermingling with those tribes which had preceded them. For more than a thousand years before our era, the influx must have been constantly recurring, but gradual. About the third to the fifth centuries, however, a formidable confederation of nations began to hem in and encroach upon the northern frontiers of the Roman empire. From the shores of the Baltic to the sources of the Rhine and the Danube this multitude of warlike races had congregated, against whom even the Roman arms had been rarely successful, and to whom, finally, Rome herself was to succumb. These nations may be distinguished under three leading or generic names. The Teutons or Germans, the Goths, and the Tartars; all originally from Asia.

The Teutons consisted of a number of Germanic tribes who, as early as three centuries before Christ, occupied that immense extent of country lying between the Rhine, the Danube, the Oder, and the North Sea.

The Goths, divided into Ostrogoths and Visigoths, according to the situations they occupied upon the Danube, East Goths and West Goths. The Tartars, composed of numerous nomadic tribes, occupying the vast steppes near the Euxine, the most known of which were the Huns.

The Germans, or *Wehr-men* (men of war), for centuries resisted the repeated efforts of the Roman generals to subdue them—long before the Christian era. They formed two large factions, separated by the Hereynian forest, those being called Saxons who were north of the forest—their name supposed to have been derived from the verb *sitzen*, preterite *sasz*, to be seated; they being, at first, less nomadic than the southern Germans, who were called Suevi, *Schweben*, which signified in their

idiom the same as Scythes in Tartar, to float or be in movement. The Suevi first came in contact with the Romans, but they had at length to succumb, and, paid by Rome, turned their arms against the Germans of the north.

During the second century of our era, the Suevi driven by the Goths towards the sources of the Danube, between the Hercynian forest and the Rhine, gave their name to that country Swabia; other tribes joined them, and this assemblage or confederation took the name of Alemanni. They extended from the Rhine to the Hercynian forest, and from the Main to the Helvetic Alps.

The North Germans, or Saxons, amongst whom were some tribes known as Franks or Sicambres, were also set in movement by the Gothic invasion. Those nearest Scandinavia submitted to the sons of Odin, and accepted their religion. In the new association entered the Angles, inhabitants of the Cimbric Chersonesus, who, as Anglo-Saxons, were the future conquerors of Britain. They established themselves along the Elbe, the Baltic, and the North Sea. Under these new circumstances they became, as pirates, the terror of all the people inhabiting the coasts of Gaul, of Britain, and even of Spain.

Another new confederation, that of the Franks, included all the peoples settled between the Rhine and the Weser. We first meet with them under the name of Franks about A.D. 241. A few years later a band of Franks traversed Gaul, crossed the Pyrenees, ravaged Spain, and reached the coast of Africa. One colony of Franks was transported by the Emperor Probus to the shores of the Pontus Euxinus, but tiring of their exile, they seized upon several vessels and set sail, coasting along Asia Minor, Greece, and Africa, passing the pillars of Hercules, and returning by the North Sea, up the rivers, to their own country, which they had so adventurously quitted.

The Franks had already gained a footing in Gaul during the third century. Two of the principal peoples of the Frankish confederations had been obliged to get back from the Weser before the Saxons, and attempted to reach Batavia, beyond the Rhine. The Romans named these tribes the Salic Franks, because they had been long encamped by the river Yssel (Isala), near the Zuyderzee. They established themselves in Batavia, and the Emperor Maximianus, finding it difficult to dislodge them, permitted them towards A.D. 287 to fix themselves as military colonists between the Moselle and the Scheldt, from Trèves to Tournay.

Some years later other tribes of the Franks crossed the Rhine to support Carausius, with whom both the Franks and Saxons had entered into a league, and who had assumed the imperial purple in Britain. Constantius Chlorus and Constantine long opposed the Franks, and Julian, as before stated, after vanquishing them, thought it as well to allow them to found a military colony between the Rhine and the Meuse. The tribe was called the Riparian Franks by the Romans, *Ripuarios a ripa Rheni*, because the Latin word *ripa* signifies banks, and they had established themselves along the banks bordering on the Rhine, one of the two great rivers which served as a barrier to the Roman empire against the barbarians.

During the fifth century the empire of the West was divided between Honorius and Arcadius, sons of Theodosius. Gaul fell to the share of Honorius, and under this feeble prince anarchy was at its height. The barbarians being irregularly paid for defending the frontiers, sought redress by pillage. Rome sought to gain the barbarian chiefs by subsidies, as she had lost the prestige both of her arms and of her name. But the work of dismemberment had begun. From A.D. 406, when the Suevi and Vandals invaded Gaul, to A.D. 476, Italy and Gaul was one vast theatre of carnage. The Vandals, driven out of Gaul, fell upon Spain, and continued their route under Genseric, and took possession of the North of Africa.

The Visigoths, led by the terrible Alaric, ravaged all the provinces of the empire of the East between the Adriatic and the Bosphorus, and reached Italy, where they were stopped and beaten by Stilico, at Potentia. Seven years later, Alaric returned, crossed the Apennines, and sacked Rome. The Emperor Honorius, shut up in Ravenna, entered into a treaty, according to which they agreed to quit Italy, and defend the empire they had ravaged. They established themselves in Gaul, west of the Rhône. The brave Stilico, not long after, shut up between entrenchments, and destroyed, an immense army of 200,000 barbarians.

Rome was, notwithstanding, unable to stay the depopulation impending over the empire. Britain had to be left to her own resources; Armorica, in the west of Gaul, rebelled. It was about this time, A.D. 413, that occurred the invasion and settlement of the Burgundians, a tribe of Vandals, who crossed the Rhine, and formed the first kingdom of Burgundy between Mayence and Strasbourg.

Clodion, A.D. 428, chief of the Salian Franks, and after him

Merovée, A.D. 448, supposed to be of the same family as Clodion. His name is given to the first dynasty in France, who were simply chiefs of a prominent tribe. It was Merovig, chief of the Franks, who, with Actius, commanding the Roman armies, of the great men of that period, and Theodoric, king of the Visigoths (not the great Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, who some years later conquered Italy), who gained, near Méry-sur-Seine or D'Arcis (not Châlons-sur-Marne), in the year A.D. 451, a terrible battle over the Huns. Theodoric was killed during the combat. Attila escaped into Italy, ravaged Lombardy, but spared Rome, and soon after died in Pannonia.

THE SALIC FRANKS UNDER CHILDERIC (A.D. 456—481).

Childeric succeeded his father, Merovius. He was driven away by the Franks, who chose the Roman general Olgidius to replace him. His friends, however, brought him back again from Thuringia, where he had sought a refuge. Some time after Childeric, Basine, queen of Thuringia, arrived, and on being asked her motive for making so long a journey, she replied to Childeric, "I am come because I knew thee to be possessed of great merit and courage; if I knew of any one of greater merit than thee, even beyond the seas, I would have sought him." Childeric married Basine, and their son Clovis, who succeeded Childeric, was a great prince and a redoubted warrior.

Childeric died A.D. 481, and was buried at Tournai. In his tomb was found (1653) his ring, on which was engraved a head with the long hair, distinguishing the Frankish chiefs, his styles for writing, a few golden bees that had been fixed or embroidered upon a mantle of red silk, which fell to dust when it came into contact with the air, a globe of rock crystal, several pieces of Roman money, and the blade of a hatchet.

After the great battle of Méry, gained over Attila and the Huns, the league in which a common danger had united the Romans, under Aetius, with all the barbarians settled in Gaul—the Franks among the rest—had been broken, and all had for thirty years been plunged in chaotic confusion. The Western empire had ceased to exist (A.D. 476), when Odoacer, a chief of the Heruli, had deposed the last emperor, Romulus Augustulus, and had founded the first barbarian kingdom in Italy. The Roman Ægidius held the country between the Loire and the Somme; he left the succession to his son Syagrius. The cities of Armorica governed themselves, and kept independently aloof.

The Franks congregated in greater number in Belgic Gaul. The Britons, assailed in their island by Saxon pirates, crossed into Gaul and pillaged Angers, near the Loire (A.D. 465), in their turn. The Visigoths, to whom one of the last of the Roman emperors had ceded all the south of Gaul west of the Rhône, took possession of Arles, Marseilles, and of Aix, west of the river (A.D. 477). The Britons penetrated as far as Berry. The Franks marched upon and sacked Narbonne. The whole people of Gaul jostled each other, or intermingled from north to south; from east to west; all sought to better their position with arms in hand. The Gallo-Roman cities reorganized their troops, and availed themselves of this universal disorder to settle their private disputes. In the midst of this chaos, the solemn voice of the Church is heard speaking of peace and order, and striving to uphold the oppressed and loosen the bonds of slavery (A.D. 441).

MEROVINGIAN FRANCE (A.D. 481—511).

When Chlodovig Clovis, son of Childeric, and grandson of Merovius, was raised upon the buckler by the Salic Franks, to be their leader in war, he must be regarded, not as king of Gaul—though the real founder of Frank monarchy—but rather as sovereign captain of the Frank army, for Gaul was still under the domination of a variety of peoples.

The Visigoths were masters, not only of all the country between the Loire and the Pyrenees, but of three-quarters of Spain, as well as from beyond the Rhône, the Durance, and the sea.

The Burgundians occupied the valleys of the Saône, and the Rhône, to the Durance.

The free cities of Armorica, under national chiefs, lay between the mouth of the Loire and of the Seine.

Syagrius, Roman general, son of Ægidius, had succeeded his father in the government of that part of Gaul between the Mayenne, the Loire, and the Somme, with Soissons as capital, which was still independent of the barbarians.

Near Bayeux, a colony of Saxons had established themselves, whose aid had been solicited by Aetius against Attila.

A colony, which had arrived from Britain a century before, had settled down at the extremity of Armorica, where a little independent state had been formed, to which in time almost the whole of the peninsula now known as Brittany, or little Britain, was added.

Lastly, the whole of Belgic Gaul was under the dominion of

the Franks, whose principal towns under different chiefs were Cologne, Tournai, Cambrai, and Terouanne.

Out of all this chaos, three peoples only were powerful enough to dispute the supremacy in Gaul. These were the Burgundians, the Visigoths, and the Franks. The Roman state was the first to be attacked by Clovis, Syagrius being defeated, and his territory appropriated by the Franks. The Amoricans were not aggressive, and desired only to be left unmolested. The Saxons were so few in number, and occupied such a mere point of land in that vast territory, that they left no survivors.

The Burgundians had already felt the influence of Christianity, and of the civilization of Rome. They were still barbarians; but softened by their intercourse with the Gallo-Romans. When, therefore, they had become masters of their territory, the Burgundians treated the Gallo-Romans with neither insolence nor cruelty; they borrowed much of their national law from the Roman law; but we might imagine they had adopted the following articles of their code from a still higher source: "Whoever shall refuse a place at the board, or seat by the fire, to a traveller, shall pay three sous in gold, as a fine." . . . Again, "If a traveller enter the house of a Burgundian to ask hospitality, and is told to go to the house of a Roman, if proved, the Burgundian shall pay a fine of three sous, and three sous to the Roman, as compensation."

The Visigoths had been cantoned for more than a century in the richest provinces of Gaul. The fathers of many of them had seen Constantinople and Rome, and all the imposing remains of Roman civilization. The court of the Visigoth kings at Toulouse was distinguished by elegance, and even refinement; it was the resort also of barbarian chiefs, to solicit the protection of the powerful king who ruled over the greater part of Spain, and the richest portion of Gaul.

A poet of that period thus describes the difficulty of obtaining an audience of the Visigoth king: "I have seen the moon nearly twice run through her course, and rarely only did I gain an audience. The master of this place has little leisure for me; he to whom the whole universe submissively pays court awaiting his decisions. Here we see the blue-eyed Saxon, intrepid upon the waters, and ill at ease upon the land; also the old Sicamber, who, shorn after defeats, under the protection of the king allows his hair to grow again; the Herule, whose cheeks are tinged with the pale hue of the ocean, on whose shores he inhabits. Here the Burgundian, seven feet in height, bends the knee and

implores peace. Here the Ostrogoth seeks the patronage which is his strength, enabling him to make others tremble through his own submission. Thou, too, O Roman, comest here to solicit for thy life ; and, if the north menaces, thou prayest for the arm of Guric to shield thee against the hordes from Scythia. Thou asketh the powerful Garonne to protect the enfeebled Tiber."

To all appearance the Visigoths should be the masters of Gaul ; but after the battle of Méry they had lost their savage energy. Like the Burgundians, their Christianity was Arian. Already, feelings of antipathy had arisen between orthodoxy and heresy, followed by persecutions on one side, and secret plotting on the other.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE FRANKS.

THE Franks were still pagan—worshippers of Odin—and as yet little influenced by contact with civilization, still retaining all their energetic character and daring, which had perceptibly decayed amidst the barbarians of the south. The Franks had hair of a blood colour, verging on red. This they turned back, and fastened above the forehead, forming a kind of aigrette, which hung down the back of the head like the tail of a horse. Their face was closely shaven, with the exception of two long moustachios. The lofty stature of the Franks, and their blue eyes, denoted their Germanic origin. They wore linen clothing, fastened round the waist by a broad belt, from which hung their sword. Their favourite arm was a short-handled axe, the thick iron blade of which was sharp and massive. They usually commenced the combat by throwing this weapon with unerring aim. This axe was named after the Franks *francisque*. They used also a pike, called in their language a *hang*, or fish-hook. When this had caught in a buckler it was difficult to extract. The Frankish warrior who threw it would place his foot upon the javelin and fling all his weight upon it, thus obliging his enemy to lower his buckler, and expose his head and chest. Sometimes the *hang* was attached to a cord, and flung as a harpoon, to catch in the apparel or armour of the enemy, and draw him forwards.

The religion of the Franks was the worship or cultus of Odin, the Scandinavian hero and god. The belief was that after death

the brave warrior abode in a palace amidst the clouds, called the Valhalla. There the delights of exciting combats constantly recurring, and of festivities shared with the gods, in which they quaffed beer and hydromel from the skulls of their enemies, formed their savage ideal of a place of recompense and bliss. The Franks, therefore, sought the dangers and excitement of war as a means of becoming rich and powerful in this life, and the guest of the gods in the next. The most intrepid amongst the young combatants seemed sometimes excited to madness in the midst of the strife, and almost insensible to pain, also endowed with an almost superhuman power of resisting death. They would remain erect, though wounded grievously enough to have laid low any one in ordinary circumstances. The Normans fought with the same warlike fanaticism. The intoxicating love of bloodshed and destruction is thus described in an Anglo-Saxon poem : "The army is on its march ; the birds are singing ; the clash of arms resounds. Soon the light of the fleeting moon breaks through the clouds, and the action begins, which will cause many tears to flow. The warriors tear the hollow bucklers from the hands of their opponents ; the swords cleave through the bones of the skull ; the citadel resounds with the noise of blows. The raven, black and sombre, circles round ; the sparks flying from the clash of steel seems as if the citadel were on fire ; never did I hear a battle sung of that must have been a finer sight."

The institutions of the Franks were similar to those of all the other German peoples. Each tribe had its chief, whom the Romans termed king, but to whom we must neither apply the power nor the majesty which this term implies. These kings or chiefs were chosen exclusively from amongst the members of one family invested with a sort of religious sanctity. The family who thus furnished kings to all the tribes and confederations of Franks was that of Merovig, or Merovaus : but the Frankish warriors, whilst retaining their allegiance to the family, thought themselves free to exchange one Merovingian for another, who should promise them a larger share of glory or of spoil. "If thou wilt not go into the country of the Burgundians with thy brothers," said the Franks to Theodoric, "we will leave thee here, and will march with them." This passage will show how independent they were of their kings. Again, the Franks wished to march against the Saxons, who asked for peace. "Do not persist to go to this war," said Clotaire I., "or you will be lost ; if you do go, I will not follow you." But the warriors threw

themselves upon him, tore his tent to pieces, pulled him out by force, and resolved to kill him if he refused to go with them. Seeing that, Clotaire had to give way.

The title of king was primitively of no consequence or weight amongst barbarians. Gunodius, bishop of Paris, said of an army of the great Theodoric, "There were so *many kings* in that army, they equalled in number the soldiers that were fed by the contributions enforced from the inhabitants of the district in which they were encamped."

In their public assemblies the chiefs deliberated on unimportant matters, but the more weighty questions were submitted to all the people after having been discussed by the chiefs.

CHAPTER IX.

CLOVIS (A.D. 481).

CLOVIS, the true founder of the empire of the Franks in 481, possessed only some districts in Belgic Gaul, with the title of King of the Sali Franks, cantoned in the neighbourhood of Tournay. The first five years of his reign we hear little of him, but at twenty he and his Frankish warriors, with those of Ragnacaire, king of Cambrai, amounting in all to about five thousand men, defeated Syagrius, the Roman governor, near Soissons. He fled for refuge to the Visigoths, but was eventually given up by them to Clovis, and put to death. The booty after this victory was considerable, and amongst it was a precious vase which had been taken from one of the churches of St. Rémy, bishop of Rheims, who was from an early period on friendly terms with Clovis. This vase St. Rémy had asked Clovis to return to him, and the king, during the distribution of the booty, said to his soldiers, "I pray you give me this vase, beyond my own share in the spoil." All consented except one soldier, who struck the vase with his axe, crying, "Thou shalt have only that which falls to thy share." The year following, when reviewing his army, the king remembered the man who had injured the vase, and when near him, Clovis said, "No man has his arms in such a bad state as thou hast;" and, tearing them from the soldier's hand, he threw them on the ground. Whilst the man was in the act of raising them, Clovis brained him with his francisque, saying, "It is done to thee as thou didst to the vase, last year,

at Soissons." The chronicler of this period, Gregory of Tours, adds, "Thus Clovis inspired great fear of him in every one." From this incident we can judge of the sacred character of this barbarous royalty, which on the one hand enabled the king to revenge himself for a personal slight without question, and which yet limited him to share the spoil in common with the rest of the army.

For some years after the battle of Soissons, Clovis was employed either in fighting or negotiating with the towns between the Somme and the Loire. Paris was long subject to his inroads, but the celebrated Saint Geneviève, patron saint of Paris, was within its walls, and sustained the courage of the inhabitants. A war with the Thuringians called him off beyond the Rhine (493). Next followed his marriage with Clotilde, niece of Gondebaldus king of the Burgundians. This gave a new turn to events, for Clotilde, though brought up in an Arian court, was Christian; probably the bishops of Gaul had foreseen this union might lead to the conversion of Clovis, and in this hope the cities of Amiens, Beauvais, Paris, and Rouen opened their gates to the king who had married a woman of their own faith.

The Alemanni for long had occupied a few cantons along the Vosges, which had been so often devastated by war that there was nothing left to take. Seeing the Franks appropriating so many of the rich Roman cities, they felt the wish to share their gains with them. They passed the Rhine in large numbers. The Franks hastened to stop them, Clovis at their head; the shock was terrible; at one moment the issue of the battle was doubtful; in his distress Clovis invoked the God of Clotilde; one more violent effort, and the victory fell to Clovis. The Alemanni, forced back across the Rhine, were pursued as far as Suabia, whose population, as well as that of Bavaria, acknowledged the supremacy of the Franks. The effect of this victory was to induce Clovis and three thousand of his leaders to become Christians. St. Rémy baptized them, and whilst pouring the water over the head of Clovis, the words of the archbishop were, "Bow thy head humbly, Sicamber; henceforth burn what thou hast heretofore adored, and adore what thou hast burnt." Thus the Church took solemn possession of the barbarians, and the clergy of Gaul placed their hopes for the future in the Franks.

The baptism of Clovis and the holy oil with which St. Rémy had consecrated the pagan Frank, changed, however, in no degree, his way of life; he invoked the name of Christ instead of Odin, but, in all other respects, the precepts of his new religion

made no impression on the barbarian Frank ; yet, by a singular hazard, Clovis was the only orthodox king in the Christian world ; he had on his side, therefore, all the episcopacy of Gaul. The Gallo-Roman population, oppressed by the Arian Burgundians and Visigoths, turned their eyes upon the Frankish king as their deliverer, and the pope Anastatius wrote to Clovis : "The Holy See rejoices that God has given for the safety of His Church a great prince to protect it."

With prudence far beyond the ordinary barbarian chief, Clovis first brought the whole country between the Loire and the Somme to submission, and entered into alliance with Armorica, thus securing the whole of the north, before he turned to extend his conquests southwards. The Burgundians were the first to be attacked. Their king, Gondebaldus, to retain all his inheritance, had murdered two of his brothers. One of them, Chilperic, was father of Clotilde, the wife of Clovis, and the latter was incited by her to take vengeance for this crime, as well as secretly encouraged by a fourth brother, Gadegisill, who feared a similar fate for himself. Clovis sought Gondebaldus, and defeated him near Dijon (500). The Burgundian king fled to Avignon, but followed up by Clovis, he forced Gondebaldus to acknowledge himself a tributary to the Frankish king. Clovis had hardly withdrawn from the Burgundian territory when Gondebaldus surprised his only surviving brother in Vienne, and stabbed him in a church into which he had fled for refuge.

The Visigoths, as before stated, had given up the Roman general Syagrius, when he had sought an asylum at the court of Alaric, rather than incur the risk of hostilities with Clovis. Soon after the defeat of the Burgundians, Clovis and Alaric II. had an interview at Amboise ; there, with Gregory of Tours, they conversed and ate together, and after having promised friendship, they separated in peace ; but circumstances brought them into collision. The orthodox bishop, Quintin, to save his life, had to fly into Auvergne, because the Visigoths suspected him of wishing to bring them into subjection to the Franks. The other bishops of the south, fearing persecution, may also have desired the protection of Clovis. One day, the Frankish king said to his soldiers, "It angers me that those Arians should possess any portion of Gaul. With the help of God let us march, and after having vanquished them, let us hold their country in our power." This discourse pleased his warriors, and at once his army directed its march towards Poitiers, religiously abstaining from injuring the churches on the road thither, by the express

order of Clovis. There was no lack of legends to embellish by miracles the passage of the Frankish king. Upon the banks of the Vienne, a doe of marvellous size appeared suddenly from out a wood, to indicate a ford across the river, which the king was seeking; and, to light his soldiers on their march across the vast tracts of forest surrounding Poitiers, a great globe of fire was seen to blaze out from the tower of the church of St. Hilaire, on the heights overlooking the valley of the Boivre. The old tower of this church is still lighted up on a certain night in the year to commemorate this event.

Not far from Poitiers, the two armies met in the plain of Vauban, and the king of the Visigoths, with the best of his soldiers, fell during the battle (507); immediately the towns of Saintes, Poitiers, and Bordeaux opened their gates to the conquerors. The year following, Clovis entered Toulouse, and, but for the assistance of the great Theodoric, king of the Ostrogoths, in Italy, the Visigoths would have lost all their possessions north of the Pyrenees. An army sent by him into Gaul vanquished both the Franks and Burgundians, near Arles. From the Rhône to the Pyrenees remained to the Visigoths, and the country south of the Durance to the Ostrogoths; except, however, this narrow strip of the coast of Gaul and the Mediterranean, Clovis possessed all the country from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, either by himself or his allies, the Burgundians and Armoricans. Thus a vast barbaric empire was being formed in Gaul, and soon his title was recognized by Anastatius, emperor of the East, who was charmed to see a rival beyond the Alps of the great prince of the Ostrogoths in Italy, Theodoric. The envoys of Anastatius met Clovis at Tours, and presented him with the title of consul and *fratrici*, accompanied by the purple tunic and other insignia. "Then Clovis placed the crown upon his head, and, having mounted his horse, he threw gold and silver amidst the assembled people." These titles, in the eyes of the Gallo-Romans, rendered the barbarian and pagan conqueror an orthodox prince and consul of Rome. Unfortunately, orthodoxy, as well as the consulate, was an affair of costume, for underneath the purple and the white robe of the Christian neophyte, Clovis remained the barbarian.

Clovis had all the other French kings assassinated, by a succession of treacherous acts. He sent secretly to the son of Sigebert, king of Cologne, "Thy father is growing old, and suffers with lameness; if he died, thou wouldst have his kingdom and my friendship." One day Sigebert left his town of Cologne, and

crossed the Rhine, to hunt in the forest of Buconia. About midday he fell asleep in his tent; then Chlodovic sent men to assassinate his father, hoping to secure his territory. Clovis sent word to him, "I thank thee for thy willingness to please me; show thy father's treasures to my envoys, after which thou mayst keep them all." Chlodovic said to them, "This is the coffer in which my father kept his gold pieces." They said to him, "Plunge in thy hand to the bottom to find it all." Chlodovic did as they desired, and whilst stooping to do so, he was struck with a hatchet on the head and killed. When Clovis heard that Sigebert and his son were both dead, he marched to Cologne, and collecting the people, said to them, "I had nothing to do with these things, because I could not shed the blood of my relations—that is forbidden. But, as it is so, I will give you advice, which is, if it should so please you, come to me, and put yourselves under my protection." The people applauded loudly on their bucklers and with the voice; raised Clovis upon one of their bucklers, and accepted him as king. He then marched against Chararic, who, when called to give his aid against the Roman general Syagrius, had held aloof, in order to court the alliance of either of them who should be the victor. Clovis did not forget this, and as soon as he was at liberty, to punish the king of Térouanne, he surrounded him with his machinations, and finally took him and his son prisoners; he then had their long hair, the sign of their race, shaven off, and would have made them priests. The younger man sought to console his father by saying, "They have but cut the branches; the tree is still green, and will soon put forth fresh leaves and boughs." These words reached the ears of Clovis, who, fearing they might contain a threat against himself, had them both murdered, and took possession of their kingdom and treasures.

Ragnacaire, king of Cambrai, his ancient ally at Soissons against Syagrius, was betrayed by his leaders; Clovis having given them golden bracelets and baldrics (which the traitors afterwards found to be gilt copper), to excite them against their king. After defeating Ragnacaire, Clovis took him and his son, Richaire, prisoners. The Frankish king said to him, "Why hast thou dishonoured thy family by allowing thyself to have chains put upon thee? it were better to have died." Upon which he raised his hatchet, and clove the head of Ragnacaire; then turning to Richaire, he said, "If thou hadst helped thy father, he would not have been made prisoner." With another blow of his axe, Richaire was also slain. Rignomer, also a near

relative of Clovis; was assassinated by his orders in the town of Mans. Having thus killed many other kings, and nearly all his belongings, Clovis extended his dominions over Gaul. One day he assembled all his friends, and spoke as follows of his murdered relatives: "Unhappy I am, left like a traveller amongst strangers, without relatives to give me aid in case adversity should overtake me." But he spoke this not from remorse or regret, but cunningly, and to discover if there were not still some one connected with him whom he had overlooked, in order to kill him also.

Clovis was now at the head of an immense territory; and if we remember that in 481 the Salic Franks occupied no more than that small extent of country between the Scheldt and the sea, a territory covered with morass and forest (territories of Tournay, Bruges, Gand, and Ypres), some idea may be formed of the rapid successes of this petty Frankish chief, till he attained almost supreme dominion over all the Franks, and became, in fact, the king of France.

The leading idea of the Church at that period was unity. The perfidies of Clovis were overlooked as being a means of putting an end to the constant state of feud and civil discord which devastated the land. On his side, Clovis recognized the most unlimited right in the Church to afford protection and asylum; even slaves could not be carried away from the protection of a Church. The dwelling of the priest was also respected, so that any one who appeared to be domesticated therein was protected as in a temple. If a bishop laid claim to a captive, he was instantly given up to him; and though, in these barbarous times, privileges of the Church were often set at defiance, yet it was something to have the right acknowledged. The large gifts and territory made over to the Church by Clovis, especially to that of Rheims, whose bishop was the king's principal adviser, had a salutary effect, and was always so much taken away from violence, brutality, and barbarism. It was to the Church that Clovis, in part, owed his rapid conquests. "Everything succeeded with him," said Gregory of Tours, "because he walked uprightly before God." Five years after the battle of Vauban, Clovis died (511), at the age of forty-five, having reigned thirty years. He was interred in the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, which he and Clotilde founded, on the summit of the hill above the palace of the Thermes. He had marked out the site of the church by throwing his battle-axe straight before him, in order to leave the measure of the strength of his arm by

the length of the edifice. This church, reconstructed at different periods, was named at a later date, after St. Geneviève, who died in Paris towards 512.

The first council of the Gallican church was held at Orleans in the year of the death of Clovis (511).

On the death of Clovis his four sons were each acknowledged according to the usage of barbarous tribes as king,—the dominions to which they succeeded comprehended the whole of Gaul, except Gascony and Brittany, which was governed by military chiefs established at Vannes, at Nantes, and at Rennes. The Alemanni in Alsace and Suabia were associated with the Franks; the Burgundians had refused to pay tribute before the death of Clovis, and the towns of Aquitaine, feebly held by the Frankish garrison left in Bordeaux and Saintes, were almost independent; for after driving the Visigoths out of Aquitaine the army of Clovis did not occupy the country; the war over, they returned laden with booty to their own territory in the north. Clovis fixed upon Paris as his own residence, its central position between the Rhine and the Loire giving him the advantage of watching over Brittany, Aquitaine, Burgundy, and the Frankish tribes of Belgic Gaul.

CHAPTER X.

THE SONS OF CLOVIS.

THE four sons of Clovis divided not only the dominions, but the faithful leaders composing the army of the king. Each appropriated an equal share of the territory, north of the Loire where the Frank nation was established, as well as a part of the Roman cities of Aquitaine, which paid rich tribute. Childebert was king of Paris, with Poitiers, Perigueux, Saintes and Bordeaux, Clotaire king of Soissons with Limoges; Clodomire, king of Orleans with Bourges; Thierry king of Metz and Auvergne.

This singular partition prepared the way for disputes which soon broke out into strife, and as almost all the provinces became frontier, none of them escaped pillage and devastation.

Conquest of Thuringia (511). For some years after the death of Clovis the impetus given by him continued. Thierry repulsed the Danes, who had descended to the mouths of the Meuse, and about 530 he conquered Thuringia. This country was governed by three brothers—Baderic, Hermanfried, and Borthaire. The wife of Hermanfried was a wicked woman,

who induced her husband to kill his brother Berthaire, but he did not dare to attack Barderic. One day at the hour of the midday repast, Hermanfried noticed that half of the table only was made ready, and asked the reason. His wife replied, "It is fit that a man who is contented with half a kingdom, should be satisfied with the corner of a table." These words and others of a like nature incensed the king against his brother. He sent the messengers secretly to Thierry, to induce him to attack Barderic, saying, "If thou killest him we will partition his country between us." Barderic fell under the dagger.

But Hermanfried did not act as he had promised, so that a great feud arose between the Frank and the Thuringian kings. Thierry easily aroused amongst his leaders the desire to attack the Thuringians, and they loudly clamoured to be led to battle. Thierry was aided by his brother Clotaire and his son Theodebert. The Thuringians were massacred and their country subdued.

Whilst the Frank kings were in Thuringia, Thierry to kill Clotaire had armed men hidden behind a curtain in his tent. Clotaire perceived their feet from beneath, and kept his own weapons in hand and had himself accompanied. Thierry saw that his perfidy was discovered. He feigned indifference and offered his brother a large silver dish. Clotaire thanked him and left unscathed. Thierry, who was sadly grieved to have lost his dish without any benefit to himself, said to his son Theodebert, "Go find thy uncle, and ask him to give back the present I have made him." The child did so, and obtained what he asked, to the great satisfaction of Thierry. Thierry soon after put in practice another perfidy. When he left Thuringia he induced Hermanfried to come to meet him, upon his faith that he would incur no danger, and Thierry enriched him with very honourable gifts. But one day as the two kings were talking together upon the walls of the town of Tolbiac, an unknown hand pushed Hermanfried so that he fell to the bottom of the wall and gave up the ghost.

GREGORY OF TOURS.—CONQUEST OF THE COUNTRY OF THE
BURGUNDIANS (A.D. 534).

Clovis had rendered the Burgundians tributary to the Franks, but Clotilde was not satisfied. The death of Gondebaldus in A.D. 517 had not appeased her. One day she said to Clodomir and her other sons, "Let me not repent, my very dear children, having brought you up with tenderness. I pray you resent for me the injury I have received, and revenge the death

of my father and of my mother." They obeyed Clotilde, and marched against the two Burgundian kings. The Burgundians were defeated, and Sigismund was taken. The sons of Clovis did not forget that the father of Sigismund, forty years before, had murdered the parents of their mother Clotilde. Sigismund and his wife and son were thrown by the orders of Clodomir and Clotaire into a well, which was then filled up with stones. This Burgundian king had not long before strangled his elder son whilst asleep, yet on account of his orthodoxy he was loved by his clergy, and received the title of Saint Sigismund. This victory proved fatal to the family of Clodomir; he was killed near Vienne (A.D. 524), in battle, leaving his young children unprotected.

The death of Clodomir deferred the conquest of the Burgundians for some years, but in A.D. 532, Clotaire and Childebert prepared another expedition. They besieged Autun, and having driven Gondemar out of the country, occupied it with their leaders (A.D. 534). Thierry, or Thuderic, son-in-law of Sigismund, would not take part in the expedition against the Burgundians, but had led his army into Auvergne. This province had hitherto escaped the ravages which were so general and constant in the west. Tributary first of the Goths, then of the Franks, it was then self-governed; now, however, it was given up to the soldiers of Thierry to be pillaged, and was fearfully devastated, the Franks taking, in abundance, flocks and herds, gold and silver, vestments and slaves, as much as they could desire.

This expedition was the cause of a quarrel between Thierry and Childebert. We have seen that the former had refused to accompany his brothers against the Burgundians, and had marched instead alone with his leaders to pillage Auvergne. For a moment reconciled, they exchanged hostages. Amongst them were many of the sons of Gallo-Roman senators. Fresh dispute once more broke out between the kings, and the unfortunate hostages were reduced to servitude, though some managed to escape. The following recital (taken from Gregory of Tours) will give a picture of the customs of those times and of the sad condition of even the rich Gallo-Romans, who were often degraded to servitude to suit the caprice of their barbarian masters.

"Attalus, nephew of the blessed Gregory, Bishop of Langres, had been one of the hostages reduced to slavery by the fresh dissensions which so soon followed up the reconciliation of the Frankish kings. The blessed Gregory sent servants to seek his nephew with presents to offer in exchange. Attalus was found in the service of a barbarian who inhabited the territory of Trèves.

He refused the presents, saying, 'Of the race from which he comes I expect ten pounds in gold for his ransom.' When the servants had returned to their master, Leon, who was employed in the kitchen of the bishop, said to him, 'If thou wilt permit me to depart, perhaps I might be able to withdraw him from his captivity.' His master was joyful at these words, and Leon set out for the place indicated. He wished to carry the young man secretly away, but could not find occasion to do so. Then he said to one of those he had brought with him: 'Come and sell me to this barbarian; the price shall be for thee.' The man did so gladly, and sold him for twelve pieces of gold. 'What canst thou do?' his new master asked of him. 'I can do all that is eaten at table, and I do not fear that any one can equal me in that talent. If thou wouldst give a feast to the king, I am able to compose royal dishes.' 'Well, then, behold the Sun's day which approaches (it is thus the barbarians name the Lord's day); on that day my neighbours and relatives are invited to my house; prepare, therefore, for me a repast of which it shall be said, "We could not expect better in the house of the king."' Leon replied, 'Let my master order that a large number of fowls be collected and brought to me, and I will do as he commands.'

"What he asked for was given to Leon, and the Lord's day having arrived, he caused to be served the most cunningly prepared and excellent things. The guests greatly praised the feast, and the master thanked his servant, and gave him authority over all that he possessed; he was also charged to distribute to every one with him their food. As he took great care to please his master in all things, the barbarian placed entire confidence in Leon. At the end of a year Leon went into a meadow situated near to the house where Attalus was occupied guarding the horses; then lying down some distance from him with his back turned in his direction, to prevent their speaking together being noticed, Leon said to the young man, 'It is time we think of returning to our own people and country. I give thee notice, therefore, this night when thou hast brought back thy horses into the enclosure, not to allow thyself to fall into sleep, but as soon as I shall call thee to come, we will set out on our march.'

"The barbarian had invited to a feast that night a great many of his relatives; amongst them his son-in-law. When they had quitted the table towards the middle of the night, and they had retired to their rooms, Leon carried a cup of some beverage to the son-in-law, who whilst drinking it thus spoke to him: 'Tell

me, then, thou man in whom my father-in-law has confidence, when wilt thou desire to take his horses and to return into thy own country?' This he said in jest, and by way of amusement, and Leon in the same manner replied: 'It is my project for this very night, if it please God,' and this was the truth, to which the other said: 'Well, then, I must tell my servants to be vigilant, so that thou dost not carry off anything of mine.' They parted both laughing, but when every one had fallen asleep, Leon called Attalus, and when the horses were saddled he asked him if he had any arms. 'No,' replied Attalus, 'only this little lance.' Leon entered the abode of his master and took his buckler and *framée*. The master awoke, and asked who it was. He answered, 'It is Leon, thy servant. I press Attalus to get up with diligence to conduct his horses out to graze, but he is there asleep like a sot.' The other said, 'Do as thou pleasest,' and he once more went to sleep.

"Leon went out and furnished the young man with arms, and by the grace of God found the entrance door open, which was usually fastened over night with great nails driven in with heavy blows of the hammer to secure the horses. They raised their hearts in gratitude to the Lord, and, mounting their horses, sped away as fast as they could go. When they reached the banks of the Moselle, there were men who wished to stop them; but having left their horses and their vestments, they passed across on planks, and night coming on, they entered the forest and hid themselves.

"They marched three days and three nights without finding anything to eat; then, by the permission of God, they saw a tree covered with plums, of which they ate and felt able to continue on their road. They entered into Champagne: as they approached Rheims, they heard a noise of horses' hoofs, and said, 'Let us lie down, so that they who are approaching may not see us.' They threw themselves down behind a large thorn-bush; one of the passers-by said—'Unfortunate that I am, not to find these wretches! But, by my hope of salvation, if I do catch them, one shall hang on the gibbet, and the other I will hack to pieces with my sword.'

"It was their master who thus spoke. He came from the town of Rheims, where he had been to seek them, and, but for night-fall, would have come up with them on the road. When he had gone on, the two fugitives continued their route, and entered the town. There they sought shelter with the priest, Paulelle, who was connected by the ties of friendship with the blessed Gregory. Leon told him the name of his master. 'Behold,' cried the priest.

'my vision verified! I saw this night two doves—one white, the other black—alight on my hand.' They said to the priest, 'God will pardon us, notwithstanding the solemnity of the day; we pray you give us some nourishment, for this is the fourth day since we have eaten bread or any cooked food.' The priest gave them some bread dipped in wine, then hid the two young people, and went away to matins.

"The barbarian, however, had found traces of them; he followed Paulelle to the church, but, deceived by the priest, he turned back. The two young men stayed two days in the house of Paulelle, and having regained strength, they went onwards towards the abode of Saint Gregory. The pontiff rejoiced to see the two young people, and wept on the neck of his nephew Attalus. He freed Leon and his race for the rest of their days from servitude, and gave him land as his own, on which he lived free ever after with his wife and his children."

In those days, few of the Frank princes lived to grow old. If spared by the dagger of their relatives, they sank under the equally fatal effects of intemperate living. Of the four sons of Clovis, Clodomir, King of Orleans, had the first perished; but at least he fell in battle (A.D. 524). His three sons were under the care of their grandmother, Clotilde, at Paris. Their uncle Childebert, King of Paris, jealous of the preference shown to them by Clotilde, wrote to his brother Clotaire, secretly: "Our mother keeps near her the sons of our brother, and desires to give over to them our kingdom. Come quickly to Paris, that we may decide whether we shall cut their hair like the rest of the people, or kill them, and then divide between us the territory of our brother." Clotaire joyfully entered into the views of Childebert, came to Paris, and sent to the Queen Clotilde for the children, saying: "Entrust to us the sons of our brother, that we may raise them to the throne." She—not knowing their artifice—full of joy, after having made the children eat and drink, sent them with the words, "I shall believe I have not lost my own son, if I see his sons reigning in his place."

Soon after, Arcadius, an Arvernian senator, was sent to Clotilde with scissors and a naked sword. He said, whilst showing them, "Thy sons, O very glorious queen, desire to know thy wish with regard to the children. Order, then: shall they live with shorn hair, or shall they die?"

Indignantly the queen exclaimed: "Better they should die unshorn than live to be deprived of their rights." Arcadius, untouched by her grief, hastily returned to the kings, saying,

"Continue what thou hast begun : the queen approves." Clotaire killed his little nephews—one of ten, the other of seven years—with his own dagger, and then rode away, unmoved by so cruel a deed. The third brother, Clodwald, was saved by faithful adherents. He consecrated himself to God, and cut his hair with his own hand. He persisted in good works, and lived full of sanctity. His memory is perpetuated by the name given to the village of St. Cloud, where he lived and died.

Thierry had died (A.D. 534), and was succeeded by his son, Theodebert, in the kingdom of Austrasia; his uncles Clotaire and Childebert would have treated him as they had the children of Clodomir, but Theodebert had already attained manhood, was full of courage, and was beloved by his leaders. He had made an incursion into Italy to aid Vitizes, King of the Ostrogoths : he vanquished in turn the Goths and Greeks, and pillaged in all directions. What he brought away was so considerable, that Clotaire and Childebert, to keep their leaders from going to join the army of Theodebert, had to promise them a rich spoil in Spain. They passed the Pyrenees and took Pampeluna; Saragossa stopped their progress, and on their retreat they were beaten.

Theodebert next meditated an expedition against Constantinople. It is difficult to imagine what might have been the result of turning back the tide of invasion which for so long had set in motion from east to west the unorganized but powerful Germanic nations upon that second Rome on the Bosphorus. The death of Theodebert, who was killed by a wild buck during hunting—put an end to the project. This prince was the most brilliant and active of the Merovingian dynasty. He left one son, who died young. Clotaire took possession of his inheritance, and married his widow.

Childebert could not pardon his brother for retaining the whole for himself; he intrigued with Chramnes, son of Clotaire. But Childebert, King of Paris, dying in A.D. 558, Clotaire took possession of his kingdom, and was at last sole King of the Franks. He punished his rebellious son Chramnes, who had taken refuge in Brittany, after having vanquished the Bretons who had taken up arms in his defence. The unfortunate Chramnes, with his wife and children, was shut up in the hut of a peasant and burnt alive. The two daughters of Childebert were shut up in prison by Clotaire, where they died.

The new King of Austrasia almost immediately was called upon to punish the Saxons who refused to pay their tribute of

500 cows, but he was beaten by them; and the most powerful of the German tribes then broke their alliance with the Franks, and from thence dates that long opposition between the Franks and Saxons, which increased with their power, and constituted for centuries the great struggle between the barbarians. Thus shut off from the west, in Gaul, by the Franks, and eastward by the Slaves, the Saxons turned towards the northwards, associating with the men of the north, and founding their colonies in Britain.

Clotaire did not long survive; he died at his villa of Compiègne, where he often went to enjoy the chase (so dear to the Merovingian princes) in the immense forest, portions of which still exist and belong to the crown of France. Feeling the approach of death, Clotaire is said to have exclaimed, "Who is this King of heaven who thus destroys the most powerful kings of the earth?"

CHAPTER XI.

ST. RADEGONDE.

THE Frankish kings lived rarely within their cities. They went usually from one villa to another—they and their followers—consuming the provisions laid up in store beforehand. We read the following description, in Thierry, of the villa of Braine:—It was one of those immense farms where the kings of the Franks held their court, and which they preferred to the most splendid of the towns of Gaul. The royal habitation in no way resembled the military aspect of the mediæval castle: it was a vast building, surrounded by porticoes of Roman architecture, sometimes constructed of polished wood, made with skill, and ornamented with not inelegant carvings. Around the principal building were arranged the lodgings of the officers of the palace, whether barbarians or Romans. Meaner structures were occupied by great numbers of families, who, both male and female, worked at all kinds of trades—from the goldsmith, the manufacture of arms, the weaver, the leather-dresser, the embroiderer in silk and in gold, to the coarser preparation in worsted and thread. The greater number of those families were composed of Gauls born on the soil which the king had acquired by conquest, or had forcibly

transplanted from some neighbouring village to colonize the royal domain. Besides the dwelling portion of the villa, there were the farm-buildings, the stabling, the cattle-sheds, the sheep-folds, and the granaries : the dwellings of the cultivators and the huts of the serfs completed the royal village, or villa, which resembled, on a large scale, the ancient villages of Germany.

Saint Radegonde was a daughter of Berthaire, King of Thuringia, who was killed by his own brother Hermanfried. She was brought away in childhood, and educated at the court of Clotaire, who afterwards married her ; but she never forgot the destruction of her father and her belongings, her only happiness was to escape from the horrors of her position and to live amongst the poor, providing for their wants, attending upon them, dressing their sores, even of the most loathsome kind, or listening to some lettered cleric, or in lengthened speech to talk over the holy Scriptures with some pious bishop. " Radegonde is a nun, and not a queen," exclaimed Clotaire ; and in truth the cloister was the only refuge for refined and gentle souls, such as Saint Radegonde, at a period in which coarseness and cruelty seemed to predominate. This daughter of Thuringian kings founded a monastery for women at Poitiers, where her tomb is still visited and venerated ; even in this nineteenth century votive wax lights burn around it, and little waxen effigies are offered at the shrine of the good Saint Radegonde by the simple peasantry, for cures effected or hoped for through her mediation.

Thus in the midst of barbarity and evil passions human nature was not totally dishonoured, and for those pure and gentle souls whom the fearful barbarism of those early centuries of our era terrified and disgusted, the Church opened her portals as the only harbour of refuge. For those who sought solitude and reflection, there was the cloister ; for those who did not shrink from carrying the words of peace amidst men who seemed to wear the very brand of Cain upon their foreheads, there was the active life of the order of the regular clergy. Thus the virtues of a few men even in the darkest ages of Christianity were sowing the seeds of the future in the midst of chaos and desolation.

CHAPTER XII.

GALSWINTHE AND FREDEGONDE.

UPON the death of Clotaire I., the youngest of the sons of Clovis, the immense territory which, since the death of his brothers and nephews, he had united under his own government, was once more (A.D. 561) subdivided with the consent of the Franks between his own four sons ; but the limits of the four kingdoms were not as before. The premature death of Charibert, King of Paris (A.D. 567), led to a fresh partition—Gontran commanded the Burgundians, Sigebert the Austrasian or Eastern Franks, and Chilperic that mixed population of Franks and Gallo-Romans that were called Western Franks or Neustrians. Aquitaine was shared between the three kings, who each enriched his treasury with the tribute and other productions of the finest and most fertile regions of the south. Paris was already too important to be allotted to either of them ; it was therefore decided that it should belong to them all, but that one could not enter without permission from the other two.

Austrasia (Lorraine and Belgium), situated near the Rhine, from whence the influx of barbarians had entered Gaul, was still occupied with the most unmixed Frankish population. German customs were predominant ; a number of little chiefs formed a powerful aristocracy jealous of kingly supremacy.

Neustria (the Isle of France, Normandy, etc.) was more Roman, because it contained fewer barbarians and more of the ancient Gallo-Roman elements, therefore retaining something of the imperial administration with less insubordination towards kingly authority. This difference of manners and people brought about an opposition between the two kingdoms, fostered by the rivalry between the wives of Chilperic and Sigebert (Fredegonde and Brunehaut), and later on between Ebroin and the mayors of Austrasia.

Of the three kings, Sigebert, King of Austrasia, was perhaps the least unprincipled ; he had married Brunehaut (Brunehilde) or Brunette, daughter of Athanagilde, King of the Visigoths. His capital was Metz. About the year A.D. 562, Sigebert had to defend his frontiers against the Avars, a horde newly arrived in Europe from Asia by the same route as the Huns, and which, having penetrated up the valley of the Danube, came in contact with the Frank empire. They were at first beaten by Sigebert, but six years later he was vanquished and taken prisoner. Not-

withstanding this, the Avars retreated into Pannonia, releasing their royal prisoner. In the meanwhile the Lombards, who for some time past had made themselves masters of Italy three times, invaded Burgundy between A.D. 570—576, but at last were driven back over the Alps by the Roman Mammolius, general of Gontran, the King of Burgundy. Henceforward to the conquered Gallo-Romans we must in great measure attribute much that was done whether good or bad by the Frank kings.

They alone were capable of inspiring their masters with some idea of order and of administration, of substituting, little by little, regular government for the caprice of mere force, and of raising barbarian royalty upon the model of the imperial monarchy; besides, they were subtle flatterers, and early obliged their conquerors to abandon themselves to their counsels.

(A.D. 568.) Whilst Sigebert was driving back for the common good the invading Avars, his brothers profited by his absence to pillage his western provinces. Chilperic added injury upon injury by causing his wife Galswinthe, sister of Brunehaut, to be strangled. Both of these queens were daughters of Athanagilde, King of the Visigoths, who thus hoped to secure by this double union the friendship and support of the Franks. Brunehaut accepted without repugnance this marriage with a barbarian prince which satisfied her ambition, but Galswinthe had no wish for power, and saw with terror the day arrive which was to tear her from her sunny land and the loved society of her mother. Sad as her story is, we must relate it; for even in its sadness we are glad to touch upon chords such as we can still respond to. But for such as Galswinthe and the Radegonde we should imagine some impassable gulf separated us from the inhumanity of those barbarous times. "When the Frank ambassadors presented themselves to offer their homage to their future queen, they found her sobbing upon the breast of her mother. Rough barbarians as they were, they were touched, and dared not speak of the journey. They allowed two days to pass; on the third they again presented themselves before the queen, announcing this time their wish to depart and the length of the journey. The queen wept and asked for her daughter another day's delay, 'a single day only, I will ask no more. Do you not know where you are taking my child there will be no mother for her.'

"At length all excuses were exhausted, and Athanagilde imposed his authority as king and father, and notwithstanding the tears of the queen, Galswinthe was placed under the care of those whose mission it was to conduct her to her future home.

"A long file of cavaliers, of carriages, of chariots and baggage traversed the streets of Toledo towards the northern gate of the city. The king followed the cortége of his daughter as far as a bridge which crossed the Tagus some miles from the town; but the queen would not so soon quit her daughter, and resolved to accompany her still farther. Leaving her own chariot she seated herself beside Galswinthe, and from stage to stage, day after day, she continued the journey for more than a hundred miles. Each day she said, 'It is as far as there that I will go.' When the place was reached, it was for the next, but yet onwards she went.

"As they approached the mountains the roads became difficult. She did not remark this, her wish being always to go beyond. But as her own followers greatly swelled the number of the cortége and impeded their progress, the nobles in her train determined their queen should not go one mile farther. She had to submit to a separation that was inevitable; tenderly did they bid an adieu that was to be eternal. 'Be happy!' were the last words of the queen; 'but I fear much for thee; be watchful, my child, be on thy guard.' These words were dictated by a presentiment of evil. Galswinthe wept and murmured, 'God wills it. I must submit.' Thus they separated.

"The cortége now divided. Cavaliers and chariots continued the journey, the Goths turning back towards Toledo, the Franks going northwards. Before she mounted her own chariot the Queen of the Goths stood motionless, her eyes fixed on her daughter, and thus she remained until the distance and windings of the road hid her from view. Galswinthe, sad but resigned, continued her journey. Her escort, composed of Frank and Gothic nobles and warriors, crossed the Pyrenees, then the towns of Narbonne and Carcassonne, before they left the kingdom of the Visigoths, which had extended thus far. Afterwards they took the road to Poitiers and Tours towards Rouen, in which city the marriage was to be celebrated. At the gates of every large town, the cortége made a halt, and arranged for a solemn entry. The cavaliers took off their travelling mantles, uncovered the harness of their horses, and took their bucklers in hand which they had hung to their saddlebows. The young betrothed quitted the heavy chariot in which she journeyed, for a stately car, in the form of a tower, all covered with plates of silver.

"The wedding ceremonies were as magnificent as those of her sister Brunehaut; further, as an unusual honour, all the nobles

and warriors of the court threw their swords at her feet, and then brandishing them aloft, pronounced an old pagan oath, which condemned to the edge of the blade any one who should violate his oath of fidelity. The king also placed his hand on a reliquary containing relics, and vowed never to repudiate the daughter of the King of the Goths." He kept his word, indeed, as we shall see, but within a few months harsh treatment induced her to ask permission to return to her own country; Chilperic feared to lose the treasures she had brought with her, and was unwilling to let her depart. The poor Galswinthe was one day found strangled in her room, probably by some trusty agent of Chilperic, who soon after married Fredegonde, a person of the lowest condition, who was probably the instigator of the crime, and who had served in the household of Andovera, Chilperic's first wife. This was by no means the last of her evil deeds, and the name of the Nero of France was given to Chilperic, due to her crimes even more than to his weakness.

CHAPTER XIII.

BRUNEHAUT AND FREDEGONDE.—MURDER OF SIGEBERT (A.D. 575).

BRUNEHAUT wished to revenge her sister, and having pushed her husband to declare war against the Neustrians, the struggle began between these two implacable women, which was to end only with the death of one of them. The third brother, Gontran, interposed, and Chilperic was obliged to deliver over to Brunehaut the five towns in Aquitaine, which he had constituted as the dowry of Galswinthe. Not long after he wrote to cancel this cession, and invaded the dominions of Sigebert, in Aquitaine. The King of Austrasia hastened with an immense army from beyond the Rhine to meet his brother; Chilperic terrified at this invasion agreed to keep his word, but no sooner did Sigebert break up the savage bands he had brought together than fresh provocations led once more to war. Sigebert entered Paris; the Neustrians wished to receive him as their king. He then marched upon Tournay, where Chilperic had sought refuge, but Fredegonde, watching for the opportunity, sent two fanatic soldiers in her service to Vitry, a small town on the Scarpe, where they asked to speak in secret with the king, and whilst he listened they each struck him with a long poisoned dagger, and he fell dead almost without a cry (575).

MURDER OF CHILPERIC AND HIS TWO SONS.

Brunehaut was at that time in Paris with all her treasures and her young son, only five years old, Childebert II. The child was taken away in a basket and escaped to Metz; he was proclaimed king by his guardians, and a mayor of the palace governed in his place. The eldest son of Chilperic, Merovius, was imprudent enough to marry Brunehaut, perhaps touched by her misfortunes. Fredegonde eagerly made use of the occasion to alienate Chilperic, and the young man soon fell a victim to his mother-in-law. The Bishop of Rouen, who had married them, was killed in his church whilst celebrating the mass. Clovis, the brother of Merovius, one of his sisters and his mother, Andovere, all were sacrificed to the hatred of the horrible Fredegonde. Chilperic himself was returning one evening from hunting to his royal villa of Chelles, when he was getting off his horse, leaning with one hand on the shoulder of one of his leaders, he was stabbed by Landeric, a servant of the queen (584), a crime again attributed to Fredegonde.

On the death of Chilperic his only remaining son, an infant of four months old, was given to the guardianship of his uncle, Gontran, by his mother. So many assassinations terrified the good-natured Gontran; he feared the leaders, also, who evinced less and less subordination to their king. A wide-spread insurrection had broken out in the south; Aquitaine, which was near Rouen in its civilization, had endeavoured to separate from the barbarian kingdoms of the north, and to choose a king of her own. Gandowald, given out as a son of Clotaire, had been recalled from exile, and took the lead, the whole of Aquitaine willingly submitting to him, but he was betrayed into the hands of his enemies and perished (585).

THE TREATY OF ANDELLOT (A.D. 587).

A more formidable plot was secretly formed between the leaders of Austrasia and Burgundy. Its object was to assassinate the two kings, and then to divide the country amongst themselves. One of the assassins avowed the whole, and a great number of dukes and counts were put to death in consequence of their complicity. Childebert, King of Austrasia, and his uncle, Gontran of Burgundy, had a meeting at Andelot (Haute-Marne) to settle amicably their disputes. It was decided that whichever died without issue the heritage was to go to the survivor, also

that the leaders could not, according to caprice, exchange fealty from one king to another, but in lieu, the possession of their benefices was guaranteed to them. This was the first move towards feudalism.

Gontran died 593, and Childebert II., son of Sigebert and Brunehaut, succeeded as agreed, thus uniting the two kingdoms of Austrasia and Burgundy, but he tried to take the heritage of his cousin, Clotaire II., the son of Chilperic and Fredegonde. His troops were beaten at Droissy, near Soissons. Childebert had not time to retaliate for this check, he was carried off at the early age of twenty-five by illness (596), leaving two young sons. The eldest, Theodebert II., had Austrasia, and Thierry II. Burgundy. Brunehaut hoped to reign under the name of her grandsons, as she had done under that of her son, but she irritated the leaders of Austrasia by her endeavours to set the state in some degree of order, and by enforcing obedience from them; her great fault seems to have been her endeavours to retain her power by fostering dissensions between her grandsons, and discouraging in them all serious occupation. Notwithstanding her insatiable ambition, Brunehaut had higher and wiser views than any of the princes of that time. She had a taste for the arts and for letters, and unlike the other Merovingians, she understood that kings were not solely intended to enjoy the tribute of the people without giving in exchange order and public works of utility. She built churches, made roads, and desired to restore Roman administration. Unhappily, she was not scrupulous in using means—even assassination—to carry out views in themselves good. She caused St. Didier, Bishop of Vienna, to be stoned because he wished to withdraw her grandson from the life of idleness and vice which it was her aim to encourage. The people in the meanwhile were at war. Twice the Austrasians had been vanquished by the Neustrians at Droissy, near Soissons (593), and again in the Haute-Marne (596). The Neustrians had their reverses in turn, first in the Gâtinais (600), and near Etampes (604). They were beaten by the Burgundians. Paris was taken; Clotaire II. was saved, however, by Theodebert, King of Austrasia, who treated with him. Brunehaut was furious at thus losing the opportunity of taking vengeance on the son of her enemy, Fredegonde, who had been the cause of the death, by assassination, of the sister, the husband, and others of her family, and for which Brunehaut had waited and intrigued for thirty years. She decided Thierry to attack her brother (610). Theodebert vanquished, was put to

death with his children, and his brother did not long survive (613), at the age of twenty-six.

Brunehaut now alone survived, with the four young children of her grandson, Thierry II. The nobles feared and hated her; though seventy years of age, she sent the armies of her two kingdoms against Clotaire II., expecting an easy victory, but her own soldiers delivered her over to the son of her implacable enemy, Fredegonde, and being insultingly deprived of the trappings of royalty she was mounted on a camel, and for three days carried round her camp, then tied to the tail of a wild horse; she died thus miserably by the orders of Clotaire, who showed himself worthy of his hateful mother, who had died in peace and full of years (597). The four infant children of Thierry had already been assassinated—Clotaire II., like Clotaire I., was now undisputed King of all the Franks (613); in Austrasia, however, his authority was never really established. The mayors of the palace preserved the power in their own hands; they became gradually the chief of the leaders, that is, of the aristocracy, and at the same time the principal ministers of the kings. In Austrasia this office became hereditary, so that the functions of royalty were in the hands of the mayor, the title only remaining to the king.

CHAPTER XIV.

MEROVINGIAN TIMES.

THE sixth and seventh centuries of our era stand forth as amongst the most deplorable, for the absence of order and excess of insubordination and brutal violence. Every one lived in fear of pillage, fire, sudden attack, and murder; added to this apprehension and uncertainty caused by this state of things, all cultivation of mind was in abeyance. The Latin tongue became barbarized in their coarse mouths, and even chiefs and kings cared no longer to read or write; this they left to the clerics and the municipal administration. Civilization seemed on the point of being buried beneath the ruins of barbarism.

THE CLERGY AND THE CHURCH.

The clergy alone preserved some tradition of ancient cultiva-

tion, some slight infusion of letters, but it since diminished in their ranks. Their influence increased in the towns where the bishop was the real head, as well as with the king, who found amongst them his wisest counsellors, and the nobles who paid for their prayers by rich gifts, preferring to do penance by endowing the Church with land to giving a good example in their lives to the faithful. Armed with excommunication the bishops inspired the most violent of these men, and even kings, with a salutary fear.

This interference of the clergy in civil affairs was beneficial, for there was more enlightenment, impartiality, and gentleness in their tribunals than in those of the barbarians. The clergy were the advanced guard of society, and the eighty-three councils held in Gaul between the sixth and the eighth centuries, attest that the efforts of the Church were ever in the right direction, viz., to ameliorate the manners and customs, and to enforce a juster and a less unequal social organization. If the council of Mâcon (585) imposed the obligation of paying tithe on the tenth of all the productions of the soil to the ministers of the Church under pain of perpetual excommunication, it must not be overlooked that the Church at that time alone thought of the poor and destitute.

By the side of the Church rose the monastery. St. Martin was the first to introduce the cenobitical life from the East, which St. Anthony, from the first to the third century, had preached in the deserts of the Thebaid. St. Martin had founded the monastery of Ligugé, A.D. 360, about five miles from Poitiers, and later on that of Marmontiers, near Tours. About the same time the monastery of the island of St. Barbe, near Lyons, and at the commencement of the fifth century that of St. Victor at Marseilles, were widely celebrated. Convents now began rapidly to increase; there were already 238 in the sixth century. The cenobites lived without any general rule, and some of them gave example of piety more strange than edifying, as the Stylites of the environs of Irenes, who stood erect with naked feet both winter and summer, on a lofty column, from which the bishops had much trouble to make them descend.

Towards the year 530, St. Benedict drew up for the monks of Monte Cassino, rules which were promptly adopted in all Gaul. These wise regulations rejected all useless macerations, and divided the time of the monks between prayer, the work of the arms, and that of the mind. They were made to prepare the soil for cultivation, as well as to study and copy manuscripts.

"One pierces the devil with as many wounds as one traces letters upon paper," said the zealous St. Benedict. Thus the seed of literary life was fostered within the secluded walls of the monastery, to issue forth and spread abroad when society had recovered enough security and leisure to begin once more to think.

An abbey was not only a place of prayer and meditation, it was the asylum open against the invasion of barbarism under all its aspects. This refuge of books and of learning gave shelter also to trades and workshops of every kind, and its dependencies formed what in modern language approaches nearly to our model farm. These were examples of industry and activity for the labourer, the artisan or workman, and the proprietor. It was the school in which those amongst the barbarian conquerors whose interest led them to undertake large enterprizes in the way of cultivation and colonization, went to instruct themselves.

THE GALLO-ROMANS.—THE PREPONDERANCE PASSES FROM THE TOWN TO THE COUNTRY.—RISE OF THE FEUDAL SYSTEM.

Though the barbarians had overthrown imperial administration, the internal organization remained little altered in the cities. A Frank count, as representative of the king, would collect the imposts, which the Gallo-Romans continued to pay, and would act as judge; but the towns kept their magistrates, and their use of the Roman law, and in many towns these institutions continued without interruption all through the Middle Ages. Gallo-Roman society was divided into three principal conditions or castes—the freeman or proprietor; the colon or farmer, attached to the soil which he cultivated; and the domestic or agricultural slave.

In the Frank penal code, the life of a Gallo-Roman was esteemed at half the value of that of the barbarian. Nearly all the free Gallo-Romans lived in the city, following the habits of Greek and Roman society—the rich on their revenues, the poor as they best could, out of the insignificant amount of commerce and industry which still existed. The barbarians, on the contrary, disdained the life in towns, preferring, as on the other bank of the Rhine, the open air under the forest-trees near their hunting grounds. The richest amongst the Gallo-Roman proprietors at length followed the example of their masters; they began to quit their couches and crowns of flowers, their perfumed baths, and soft, Oriental carpets, the poet and the parasite who enlivened their repasts and their leisure, for the fatigues of hunting, the

noisy revelry and proud independence of the barbarian ; in this wise the ancient preponderance of the town, essentially Roman, passed to the domain, equally German, where the aristocracy were established. Instead of the municipal life which is the source of civilization and liberty, the Middle Ages will develop the reign of feudality, of castles, and of a territorial and military nobility who weighed heavily upon the inferior classes for centuries, chaining the peasant to the soil, the artisan to his trade, and keeping them all in ignorance, poverty, and servitude.

END OF THE REIGN OF CLOTAIRE II., A.D. 613—623.

There was an attempt during this reign towards arranging the chaotic elements of society. We have noticed seventy-nine bishops assembled at Paris, A.D. 615, with the leaders of the three kingdoms, and the king sanctioned by an edict the decisions of this assembly.

The election of bishops was reserved to the clergy and the people of the dioceses ; the king having only the right to confirm the election, after which the elected bishop was consecrated by the metropolitan.

The cleric was under the jurisdiction of his bishop only. The direct taxes established by Chlperic, Fredegonde, and Brunehaut, were abolished ; but the *péages* upon the roads, and the imposts at the entry of the towns, were retained. The judges of the *comtés* were to be chosen from the proprietors of the neighbourhood—a measure very favourable to the aristocracy, as it conferred upon them judicial power, which then united every kind of function. Many of the articles of this constitution seemed directed against royalty, to the profit both of the ecclesiastical and military aristocracy, then in the state of formation. “The king,” it was said in the article, “cannot establish any new impost ; nor can he withhold the succession of those who die intestate to their legitimate inheritors ; neither can he sanction the withdrawal from monasteries of rich widows, or religious, the object being to appropriate by marriage their property.” Further, he cannot give hearing to the appeals of any cleric, and must maintain the entire independence of the ecclesiastical tribunals. Judges were forbidden to condemn any free man, or even slave, without a hearing. With this short digest of national law—liberal for the age—we have all that the chroniclers tell us of this reign. His vengeance on the aged Brunehaut appears to have been an exceptional act of cruelty. He is represented as good and gentle

towards every one, fond of letters, and a maker of bad verses; a magnificent protector of churches, of priests, and of the poor; an ardent lover of the chase, and of the intemperate pleasures of that barbarous age.

Clotaire II., during his lifetime (A.D. 622), gave his son Dagobert as king to the Austrasians, under the direction of the mayor, Pepin of Landen, or Pepin the Elder, and of St. Arnulf, or Arnould, Bishop of Metz. These two personages were ancestors, of the Carlovingian dynasty, and were connected by the marriage of their children, Ansegise, son of Arnulf, having married Begge, daughter of Pepin. Their son was the famous Pepin d'Heristal, who inherited the united possessions of both families.

DAGOBERT SOLE KING, A.D. 628—638—APOGEE OF THE GREATNESS OF THE MEROVINGIAN FRANK KINGS.

Dagobert was the most powerful as well as the most popular of the Merovingian kings. A "terrible prince towards rebellion and treachery, holding his sceptre with a firm hand, and opposing the factious like a lion." The empire of the Franks extended from the Weser to the Pyrenees, and from the Western Ocean to the frontiers of Bohemia; thus Dagobert was chief of all the barbarians established in the provinces of the ancient empire of the West. He was the ally of the emperors of Constantinople, he gave a king to the Visigoths of Spain, and obliged the Lombards of Italy to render obedience to their queen Ganelberge, related to Dagobert. After some disputes, he ceded the provinces of the South to his brother Charibert, of which Toulouse was the capital. The sons of Charibert, Boggis and Bertrand, became hereditary dukes of Aquitaine under condition of rendering homage to the king. From Boggis descended a long line of Merovingian princes, whose race became extinct in the person of Louis of Armagnac, Duke de Nemours, killed at the battle of Cerignoles, A.D. 1503.

Dagobert was personally brave; he fought against the Gascons in Aquitaine, against the Saxons and the Venedes. He visited each part of his empire to repress disorders; he travelled on a car drawn by oxen. "His approach," said Frigidaird, the chronicler of that period, "struck terror into the bishops and nobles, but filled the poor with joy."

He had the laws of the barbarian peoples, his subjects, collected and written; he also took back from different churches and convents a large number of domains taken from the royal

fisc or treasury ; yet he was liberal towards the clergy. He founded the abbey of St. Denis, where the greater number of the kings of France after him were buried.

He encouraged the feeble remnant of arts which still survived. Sculpture and goldsmiths' work were especially in vogue. St. Eloi, the famous goldsmith of that time, merited from his magnificent works and his probity to be raised to the rank of treasurer of the king. He made a seat of massive gold, and a throne of the same precious metal, for Dagobert. These riches came from the commerce of the Levant, which his alliance with the court of Constantinople had brought into Gaul ; also from the spoils of Italy, which, in their numerous incursions, the Franks had carried away. St. Eloi was Bishop of Troyes, and built the church of St. Paul, outside the walls of Paris. The abbey of St. Denis was ornamented with the *chefs d'œuvre* of St. Eloi. The oriflamme was kept there ; a banner which the kings fetched on great occasions of war, and gave to the keeping of the Count of the Vexin, first vassal of the abbey. It is said the oriflamme disappeared under Charles XI., at the battle of Rosebecq against the Flemish. Dagobert was surnamed the Solomon of France, because, like the king of the Jews, he loved wisdom and justice ; but he was self-indulgent, and carried his taste for magnificence and luxury far beyond any of his predecessors. He died at the age of thirty-five, at Epernay, A.D. 638, and was buried at St. Denis. After him, the glory of his house was extinguished. The princes of his line who followed are called "*rois fainéants*," because they were but the phantoms of kings, and reigned only in name—the mayors of the palace were the real sovereigns.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SONS OF DAGOBERT, A.D. 638—656.

DAGOBERT left two sons, still in their infancy. Sigebert II. reigned in Austrasia, under the guardianship of the mayor Pepin of Landen ; the other, Clovis II., under that of Erchinoald, in Neustria, and of Flaochat, in Burgundy. Sigebert died A.D. 656, and Grimoald, son and successor of Pepin in the mayoralty of Austrasia, sent the young Dagobert, an infant three years old, to a monastery in Ireland, placing his own son on the throne. The blood of the Merovingians was, however, still respected ;

Clovis II., uncle of Dagobert, overthrew the usurper, but retained the whole of the monarchy in his own hands, A.D. 656; he died, however, the same year, at the early age of twenty-three. He had married the beautiful and virtuous Bathilde, whom pirates had sold into slavery. She is supposed to have been an Anglo-Saxon princess.

THE MAYOR EBROIN, A.D. 659—681.—HIS STRUGGLE AGAINST
THE NOBLES AND AUSTRASIA.—SAINT LEGER.

Clovis II. left three young sons, the eldest, Clotaire III., was only four years old; he reigned, under the guardianship of his mother, Queen Bathilde, and the mayor, Erchinoald. Austrasia with reluctance accepted Childeric, because the family of Pepin had many partisans. He was, however, proclaimed king, and he was given as guide the mayor Wulfoald; Thierry had no share in the kingdom. The death of Erchinoald followed almost immediately after these arrangements: this was a fatal blow for the peace of the kingdom. "In the place of Erchinoald rose up a great, powerful, and terrible man—great from the extent of his enterprizes, powerful by his unflinching daring, terrible from the number and promptitude of his acts of vengeance, treading under his foot the great as well as the little; raising up, and then setting aside kings, he made them serve his purpose instead of serving them;—a man of enterprize, of vice, and of crime: a man of treason and of murder, a man of misfortune, a man of ruin. This man was Ebroin."

BATHILDE.

As long as this good queen retained her authority, she knew how to preserve peace. Her too short regency was signalized by numerous acts of equity and virtue. She united charity with the most ardent yet tender piety. She was known, during a period of famine, to despoil the abbey of St. Denis of some of its riches, in order to buy bread for the poor. Her next act was to relieve the poorer classes of a tax which often obliged parents to sell their children to acquit it. This she abolished: but it did not satisfy her motherly heart—she even redeemed the poor little ones who had already been thus devoted to slavery. During ten years she was the model of every virtue. Unfortunately the nobles, especially Ebroin, tired of the government of a woman with whom they could so little sympathize, they assassinated her principal councillor, the Bishop of Paris, A.D. 664,

and Bathilde retired to the monastery of Challes, which she had built, and never afterwards quitted.

The leaders had now what they desired—only powerless infants on the throne—Clotaire III. in Neustria and Burgundy, and Childeric II. in Austrasia. Anarchy was triumphant: Ebroy determined to put an end to it. He exiled some, despoiled others, and put many to death; and with that clear insight into government, he refused the charge of duke and count to those who held large possessions in the provinces of which they asked the commandment. William the Conqueror, four centuries later, acted precisely in a similar manner with his own Norman nobles after the Conquest. On the death of Clotaire III., A.D. 670, Ebroy placed the third son of Clovis II. upon the throne upon his sole authority. Thus the charge of mayor of the palace, which the leaders had raised so high, as an arm against royalty, turned against themselves, and Ebroy represented the policy of Brunehaut against Frank aristocracy. In the three kingdoms, leaders and bishops, with St. Leger at their head, armed against the haughty Ebroy and his king, seized them unawares, and shut them both up—Ebroy in the monastery of Luxeuil, Thierry at St. Denis—after giving them both the priestly tonsure. Childeric II. was now sole king, A.D. 670.

Fresh quarrels arose between the new king and his leaders. St. Leger was shut up at Luxeuil with his old enemy, and they formed a momentary reconciliation. Childeric, his wife, and son were killed by a noble of Neustria, whom he had ordered to be chastised with rods, and the doors of Luxeuil were opened to them both. Such a chaos of confusion followed that “it was believed the coming of antichrist was near.” Ebroy, first succeeding in freeing himself, beat the leaders in battle, put out the eyes of St. Leger, and afterwards killed him—the saint and martyr—and replaced Thierry on the throne. Ebroy had cowed the aristocracy of Neustria and Burgundy, but the leaders of Austrasia were less easily mastered. They had renounced altogether their feeble kings, and had conferred the title of Dukes of the Franks on the grandsons of Pepin the Elder, and of the bishop consul, the Mayor Martin, and to his cousin, Pepin d’Heristal. Martin and his army were beaten by Ebroy; and Martin himself, inveigled to a conference, was treacherously murdered by him. Ebroy was himself assassinated the year following, and with him fell the last support of the Merovingian royalty.

BATTLE OF TESTRY, A.D. 687.—FALL OF THE FIRST RACE OF KINGS AND OF THE NEUSTRIAN FRANKS.—PREPONDERANCE OF THE AUSTRASIAN OR RIPUARIAN FRANKS.

Berthaire endeavoured to continue the work of Ebroin, but he had neither the talents nor the energy. When Pepin asked him to recall the Neustrian leaders who had fled to Austrasia, he said he would fetch them. He marched towards Pepin with a numerous army, but Roman France—as Neustria began to be called—was beaten at Testry, near Peronne, by Teutonic France, A.D. 687. This battle was the real termination of the first dynasty of Frank kings; for though they bore the name and title until A.D. 752, it was without a shadow of power. During the following sixty-five years, this debased race had difficulty even to exist. They nearly all died young, or became old men at thirty, and few even attained to that age.

CHAPTER XVI.

CARLOVINGIAN FRANCE.—FOURTH PERIOD.

Amongst the Ripuarian Franks who still retained on the banks of the Rhine the warlike energy of the first conquerors, a powerful family was rising into note. It possessed at least twenty-three domains, and therefore numerous dependents—that is, many warriors attached to its fortune. Three members of this family successively occupied the episcopal see of Metz—Arnould, Chrodulf, and Drogon. Pepin, of Landen, was Mayor of Austrasia under Clotaire II. “In the judgment of every one,” says his biographer, “Pepin studied to conform his acts to the rules of Divine justice, and associated himself with the blessed Arnould, Bishop of Metz, whom he knew to be in the fear and the love of God. . . . After the death of Arnould, he took the counsel of the blessed Chunibert, Bishop of Cologne. He thus lived in the practice of justice and honour, and by the counsels of holy men remained constant in the exercise of holy deeds.” The wife of Pepin, Itta, had a daughter, Gertrude. “The chosen spouse of the King of Angels,” as the old chronicler calls her, died in the odour of sanctity. Pepin himself had been canonized, Arnould had been so, and his grandson was St. Wandrille. It is not

surprising that so powerful and saintly a name should place itself at the head of the nobles of Austrasia. Its chiefs had possessed hereditarily the mayoralty of the kingdom during the seventh century. First Pepin of Landen (a little town near Liège), and Arnould—then Grimwald, who thought himself strong enough to place his own son on the throne; lastly, Pepin d'Heristal, grandson of Arnould by his father Ansegise and of Pepin the Elder by his mother Begga.

PEPIN D'HERISTAL.

Both Heristal and Landen were small towns near Liège. After his victory over the Neustrians at Testry, Pepin returned to Austrasia, taking with him the King Thierry III. and his treasures. Royalty was not done away with: the Duke of the Franks kept a king in order to show to the people from time to time a prince of the blood of Clovis. These *fainéant* kings do not merit even to have their names registered in history; they lived in obscurity and they died. Pepin had two objects to effect: these were, not only to reconstruct the empire of the Franks, which was falling to pieces, but to reconstruct the sovereignty, which was also a ruin. The first was easier to accomplish than the second, for the turbulent nobles of Austrasia were willing enough to aid in bringing the populations of the south of Gaul, and the Germanic tribes which had thrown off the Frank dominion, again under their yoke, for their own profit; but they were not far-sighted enough to comprehend that, in helping their chief to take the liberty of others, they were giving him the strength necessary to act towards them in the same manner. This did not happen during Pepin's life, but it was carried out under his son Charlemagne. Pepin re-established the antique custom of the Champs de Mars—an assembly of the mass of the free people, which he consulted every year respecting peace and war—giving himself by this means another support against the aristocracy. "Pepin made many wars," say the old chronicles, "against Radbod, the pagan Duke of the Frisons and other princes—against the Suevi and many other nations. In these wars he was always conqueror." He found precious auxiliaries in the missionaries. St. Willibrod, named by the Pope Archbishop of the Frisons in A.D. 690, converted Radbod.

DEATH OF PEPIN D'HERISTAL (A.D. 714).—INSURRECTION.

Pepin died A.D. 714. Drogon, his eldest son, died before his father, and Grimoald, his second son, was assassinated whilst praying in church. The young son of Grimoald, Theobald, was instituted Mayor of Neustria and Austrasia, under the guardianship of his grandmother, Plectrude. The Neustrians, however, preferring a mayor of their own choice, attacked the Austrasians on the west, as did the Saxons and Frisons on the east. Thus pressed, the Austrasians left Plectrude and her grandson, and took the real son of Pepin and of Alpaïde—a young man of twenty-five—out of prison at Cologne, where he had been shut up by Plectrude. He was Carl le Marteau, or the Hammer; or, as he is more usually called, "Charles Martel"—a surname which he gained by his valour and strength in battle.

CHARLES MARTEL, A.D. 715—741.

Charles was a rough soldier and true barbarian. An old chronicle says of him: "Herculean warrior, very victorious chief, he surpassed his forefathers, and added more noble victories to theirs—triumphed with honour over chiefs and kings—over peoples and barbarian nations—so much so that from the Slavi and the Frisons, to the people of Spain and the Saracens, none who ventured to rise against him escaped his hands, but were prostrated under his empire and crushed under his power."

Charles was at first not successful; he retired into the impenetrable country of the Ardennes, before the Neustrians and the Frisons, who had both reached as far as Cologne. Upon the wooded heights of that country, he watched for the propitious moment, and then with 500 cavaliers only, he fell upon the Neustrian army unawares, which fled on all sides, seized with sudden panic. The next year the Neustrians were again beaten, near Cambray, A.D. 717. The Aquitanians sent them succour, and Charles beat them both near Soissons, A.D. 719. He left the Neustrians their phantom of a king, Chilperic II., but governed in his name. He further obliged the Alemanni, the Bavarians, and the Thuringians to acknowledge the ancient Frankish supremacy. The Frisons were menaced, and six times Charles penetrated into the country of the Saxons.

VICTORY OF POITIERS.—THE FRANKS SAVED CHRISTENDOM FROM SARACEN INVASION (A.D. 732).

The greatest glory of Charles was to have saved France from

the invasion of the Mussulmans, to which Africa and Spain had already been subjected. It was high time that Christendom should have a chief, and a champion of acknowledged renown to fight her battles. The Arab horsemen were pouring into the rich and almost defenceless districts of Southern Gaul. The striped burnous and glittering spear-heads of these tawny warriors were seen by the terrified peasant, winding in an endless coil through the picturesque gorges of the Pyrenees, by Fontarabia and Roncesval. In the green meadows that skirt that boundary stream of the Bidassoa, a river so often reddened by the best blood of France and Spain, the fearless riders of the desert were picketing the indefatigable horses of Arab blood, which had borne them to the headland of St. Sebastian, from the banks of the Nile. They had trodden down kingdoms in their paths. The once powerful Visigoths of Spain had succumbed at a single blow, and the craven Roderick had shed those bitter tears, so famed in legend and romance over the fall of his throne, and the slaughter of his people, in the fatal field of Xeres de la Frontera. The cities of Spain yielded to this strange invader, almost as soon as he appeared before their gates. In the green Vega of Granada, in the stately streets of Cordova and Seville, arose the marvels of Moorish architecture. Everywhere the crescent supplanted the cross, and the terrified remnant of the Christian population were hiding in the Asturian mountains, or among the solitudes of those stern sierras which frowned upon the Atlantic waves. The nominal and natural head of the Christian world, upon the banks of the Bosphorus, was almost enclosed within his own capital by the swarming legions of the same victorious enemy; nor could the shadowy terrors of the imperial name affect the descendants of a race which had never known fear or reverence for the Cæsars of a mightier line. Italy itself, which once gave laws to the world, had become, as she had remained, the prize of the strongest invader that should cross the Alps. The great Ostrogoth, who alone, since the days of Constantine, had grasped the idea of empire, and attempted its realization, had long since vanished from the scene, and the heritage he left his sons was rent into fragments by the wrangling strife of Lombard kings, Roman pontiffs, and Beneventan dukes. Gaul no longer existed, and France did not as yet exist. The children of the Celts, who had so stoutly fought for freedom against Rome and Cæsar, were mourning among the solitary cromlechs of their sea-girt peninsula, over the loss of their nationality and their faith. The Roman colonists whom Cæsar had planted over the face of the

land, which he won with so much toil and blood, had collapsed in the corruption of the empire, and now, scattered among its barbarian conquerors, possessed neither a cause, a standard, nor a name. Visigoth and Burgundian had alike failed in effecting a stable settlement, or consolidating a real power. In the Franks alone was the hope of the world; but the Franks were tearing each other to pieces, like the wolves of their forests, in ruthless internecine war. From the Calabrian headlands, to the shores of the German Ocean, no Christian congregation met to worship without terror and consternation, no Christian litany arose without the prayer for deliverance from the victorious and ever advancing armies of the infidel. But, as ever in the counsels of Providence, the time produced the man.

Eudes, the Merovingian Duke of Aquitaine who reigned at Toulouse, vanquished upon the banks of the Garonne, had recourse to the aid of the powerful Duke of the Franks, and the two puissant representatives of the great German and Mussulman invasions met in that wide plain between Châtelherault and Poitiers now covered with rich crops of colza, and corn, and fertile vineyards.

For seven days the two worlds, the two faiths, stood face to face. The horsemen of Asia, with their tawny skins and white turbans, armed with the light steel-tipped jerreed, or the curved scimitar of Damascus, and only defended by a small circular buckler, wheeling amidst clouds of dust around the Frankish hosts, scanned with surprise the fair-haired shaggy giants, who, in their steel casques and cuirasses, composed of leather interwoven with iron plates, wielding the long heavy sword, or the still more terrible mace of iron and battle axe, which had done such bloody service in the German wars, had come from the Scandinavian forests, to do battle for Europe upon her hitherto irresistible foes. "On a Sunday morning, October, A.D. 732, the decisive conflict began—the shock was terrible—the wild riders of the desert dashed hour after hour in ceaseless charges against the solidly compacted infantry of the north. They came on like the leaping waves of the ocean to be scattered back like the spray. The folds of the Eastern turban afforded slight protection against the huge mass of iron wielded by the Austrasian warriors, and the scimitars of Damascus glanced harmlessly from the stout helmets and the thick leather corslets of the Franks. On a sudden, shouts were heard in the rear, and the sheen of steel began to glitter through the dense clouds of dust which veiled the south. It was the spears of Aquitaine led by Eudes to the great strife.

Assailed on both sides the courage of the sons of the desert began to quail, and their squadrons finally recoiled. The slain outnumbered the living; Abderrahman, the Saracen leader, himself disdained to belong to the last. By sunrise they were in open flight towards the town of Narbonne, and the vast camp of the enemy was abandoned, and the Franks precipitated themselves with eagerness upon the curious and splendid spoils of Palestine, Egypt, Africa, and Spain." Henceforth Charles receives in history the well-won surname of Martel, or the Hammer. The people retained the memory of (this event as the most terrible battle fought during the Middle Ages. Upon its result hung the destiny of Christendom. Three hundred thousand Saracens (Arabs and Moors), say the chroniclers, with their usual exaggeration, fell under the sword of the Christianized barbarians. After this victory, the Duke of Aquitaine, Eudes, made oath of obedience to the glorious mayor of the palace of Austrasia.

CONQUEST OF BURGUNDY AND OF PROVENCE (A.D. 733—739).

Charles next turned his arms against the Burgundians. Master of Lyons, Vienne, Valence, Avignon, and of the valley of the Rhône, he penetrated into Septimania, dismantled Nîmes, burning its arena, upon the ruins of which can be seen the traces of the fire he lighted. He completed the subjection of Provence by the taking of the cities of Arles and Marseilles (739). To recompense his veteran soldiers Charles distributed lands and benefices taken from the immense domains of the Church. The Church bore him rancour, and anathematized his memory. At his death, however, he was on the eve of passing the Alps to defend the pope, who had called him against the Lombards (741).

PEPIN LE BREF.

Of the two sons of Charles Martel, one, Carloman, received Austrasia and the country beyond the Rhine; the other, Pepin, had Neustria and Burgundy. Since the death of Thierry IV. in 737 Charles Martel had left the throne vacant. Carloman did the same. He had no occasion, in the midst of his German leaders, to hide his power under the name of king; but Pepin, to flatter the old attachment of the Neustrians for the Merovingian race, placed Childeric III. upon the throne.

The dukes of the Bavarians, the Aquitanians, and the Alemanni refused obedience to the new chiefs of the Franks, but Car-

loman and Pepin united against them, and brought them to submission. Hunald, Duke of Aquitaine, retired to a convent. This example was followed by Carloman (747), who entered the monastery of Monte Cassino, near Naples. He left two sons, but their uncle, Pepin, made them take orders, and saw himself sole inheritor of the succession. He endeavoured to conciliate the clergy, with the design of winning them to his projects. Having sounded the feelings of Pope Zacharius with regard to him, he sent the pope the following question to answer:—"Which is the most worthy to reign—he who really exercises the functions of royalty, or that one who only has the title?" The pope replied "that he who maintained the royal power would do well to take also the name of king." Effectively Pepin had himself raised on the buckler by his leaders at Soissons (752), and proclaimed king, being afterwards, according to the Hebrew custom, anointed with holy oil by the hand of the Archbishop Boniface, saint and martyr. Childeric III. ended his days in a monastery about three years after at St. Omer. The family of Clovis had fulfilled its destiny.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE FRANK MONARCHY.

PEPIN LE BREF, first king of the Carolingian dynasty, was called *le bref*, or the short, from his stature, which was less gigantic than most of the herculean Frankish warriors around him. Much obscurity covers the reign, the character, and the actions of this prince, due partly to the rarity of chroniclers at that period. His victory over the Saxons and other people bear testimony to his courage and military talents. He forced the Saxons to pay a tribute of 300 horses, and to permit the free entry of Christian missionaries into their kingdom.

(A.D. 754—756.) Pope Stephen II. came himself from Italy to implore the protection of Pepin against the Lombards. Pepin had himself anointed a second time by the pontiff, forced the passage of the Alps, and besieged the king in Pavia, who promised to give back the lands he had taken from the Church of Rome, but he did not keep his word. The next year Pepin once more appeared in Italy, master of Ravenna, which he gave over as a donation to the holy see of St. Peter. This was the origin of the temporal power of the popes (756).

The conquest of Septimania (Languedoc) was effected after

seven years' resistance. Narbonne then opened her gates (759), and for the first time the empire of the Franks touched upon the eastern Pyrenees. Aquitaine was now surrounded both in the north and east, and Valfre, her duke, son of Hunald, having refused to give up the Austrasian leaders, also certain possessions of the Church which he had taken, Pepin crossed the Loire, and each year Aquitaine was subjected to a methodic devastation, so that it was more like a vast chase for the Franks to disport themselves. From the Loire to the Garonne the houses were in ashes, and the trees cut down. The circle of devastation spread wider and wider—Bourges, Auvergne, the Limousin, Quercy. With a handful of intrepid men Valfre retired before the advancing Franks, his towns falling one after the other. All belonging to him were killed or captive. At length he himself fell, resisting to the last (768), and with him the independence of Aquitaine, but the sentiment of liberty was so strong, and the hatred of the Gallo-Roman inhabitants against the Franks so profound, that Aquitaine was ever ready to separate herself and live detached from France.

DEATH OF PEPIN (A.D. 768).

Pepin died on his return from his expedition into Aquitaine, and his sons Charles and Carloman were made kings by the consent of the Franks. During his reign the general assemblies were changed from the month of March to that of May, and were held very regularly every year, the bishops being convoked at the same time as the nobles.

The first organ, with several stops, seen in France was placed in the church of St. Corneille at Compiègne, having been sent from Constantinople by Constantine Copronymus to Pepin (757).

CHARLEMAGNE AND CARLOMAN (A.D. 768—771).

Pepin died of dropsy at the age of fifty-three years, leaving several children, their mother being Bertha *au-grand-pied* (large foot), daughter of the Count of Laon. We know little beyond that she was the mother of Charlemagne. Her third son became a monk. Of her daughters two died young, and the last became Abbess of Chelles. Before we close the chapter on Pepin le Bref we must notice one of the most illustrious men who gave lustre to the Church of France. This was St. Boniface, Bishop of Mayence, who first anointed Pepin, and placed the crown upon his head.

Boniface, or Winfried (his German name), under the auspices

of the popes, penetrated into the vast regions of Germany, without any other arms than his faith, to carry Christianity to the pagan Teutons. He became, as it were, the link between the rude, half-nomadic tribes of Germany and Rome. He then opened the road for the armies of Charlemagne, and finally to civilization. He built the metropolitan church of Christian Germany, that of Mayence, and, farther north, the church of relics in the holy city of the Low Countries, Cologne. He founded also the school of Fulda, the luminary of the west. First Archbishop of Mayence, he vowed for himself and his successor fidelity to the prince of the apostles. At the height of his glory he resigned the archbishopric, and, at the age of seventy-three, as simple missionary returned to the forests and marshes of the pagan Frisians. There he received the heavenly crown of martyrdom.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CHARLEMAGNE (A.D. 768—814).

THE entire reign of Charlemagne, from 768 to 814, is one of the most important periods of history. Proclaimed by the Church a saint, by France her greatest king, by the Germans their compatriot, by the Italians their emperor, his name is found at the head of all modern history. To his reign all refer as to the origin of our actual condition.

The empire remained divided only three years. The two brothers employed the time in finishing the conquest of Aquitaine, begun by Pepin. Hunald, father of Vaifre, the valiant Duke of Aquitaine, who resisted Pepin to the utmost with a handful of intrepid men, now came out of the monastery into which he had retired, and took up the sword that had fallen from the hand of his heroic son. He, too, was beaten, and delivered over by the Vascons (Basques) to his enemies, but he managed to escape, and sought an asylum with the Lombards. Pepin had already built the castle of Turenne, and Charlemagne added that of Fronzac, on the Dordogne, to hold the turbulent population of Aquitaine in hand. He also placed the statue of his father above the porch of the church of St. Croix, at Bordeaux, to keep before them the memory of his triumph, and as a menace for the future.

Carloman had not well supported his brother in this war, and the misunderstanding which ensued announced the prospect of civil discord; but the death of Carloman left his brother sole heir

to the kingdom, for the sons of Carloman were set aside by the leaders, who preferred a valiant prince in the flower of his age. The widow of Carloman and her children went to the court of the Lombard king, Didier, whose daughter Hermangarde had been repudiated by Charlemagne. With so many subjects of mutual recrimination war was inevitable, and soon broke out.

Didier desired the sons of Carloman should be consecrated by the pope. Adrian sent word of this to Charlemagne, who at once determined on an expedition beyond the Alps. Pavia and Verona alone resisted; Charles left an army before these places, and hastened to Rome, where he received the title of patricius, with the oath of fidelity of the Romans. At the same time he confirmed the donation of Pepin to the holy see of St. Peter.

The brave and patriotic Hunald perished, stoned to death by the people of Pavia, whom he constrained to continued resistance. Didier and his children were shut up in a monastery (774). Since that date Italy never regained entire independence, till quite recently, and it is as heirs of Charlemagne that the emperors of Germany reigned over the valley of the Po. The Lombards kept their possessions in the south of the peninsula, and, if the dukes of Benevento became tributary, the tribute was generally left unpaid unless an army went to demand it. The nation submitted to the King of the Franks, who placed upon his head the iron crown of Lombardy. Thus the kingdom of the Lombards came to an end, after two centuries of duration, and Charles took the title with the iron crown.

WAR AGAINST THE SAXONS (A.D. 772—804).

This war was widely different to that of Italy, for the Saxon race was essentially energetic and brave, and defended its liberty with the utmost heroism. It is to be regretted that the recital of this great struggle is from the partial pen of a Frank chronicler, Eginhard. Conquered nations rarely relate their miseries; that is why deceived history exclaims, "*Væ victis*"—"Woe to the conquered." The true motive which occasioned this war was the antipathy which existed between the Frank and Saxon races—an antipathy which increased in a greater measure as the Franks became more Romanized, and received a fresh organization under the ecclesiastical Carlovingians. The free Saxons loved and clung to their old beliefs the more, hated the Franks cordially, and when the Frank missionaries threatened them with the arms of the great empire, St. Libuin, who uttered the words, would have been torn

to pieces had not the elders amongst the Saxons withheld the younger men. They did not prevent them, however, from burning the church that St. Boniface had constructed at Fritzlar, in Hesse. The Franks, glad of a pretext, retaliated by marching to the chief sanctuary of the Saxons, where they destroyed the statue of their principal god or hero, Arminius, the national symbol of Germany. The Saxons, surprised in their forests, had to give twelve hostages, one for each tribe. Charles fixed his residence at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the Rhine; the hot springs of the neighbourhood were liked by him. He fortified the town, and commenced to build the basilica; he built also the castle of Ghresbourg. The Saxons appeared to be more submissive, and many were baptized—a ceremony probably little understood by them. Thus when Charlemagne thought all resistance over, and thousands of Saxons permitted themselves to be baptized as Christians at Paderborn, the Westphalian chief Witikind returned with his warriors from the north, where they had taken refuge, and met the Franks face to face. Defeated in Hesse, they disappeared once more within their forests, and again sought refuge with the Danes, but only soon to return again.

It was during this year (778), when Charles was occupied in baptizing the Saxons at Paderborn, that a Saracenic emir, who would not submit to the Caliph of Cordova, offered to put the Franks in possession of all the towns he had south of the Pyrenees. Charles accepted, and with a numerous army traversed Gascony. The Basques, old soldiers of Hunald and Guaifer, or Vaïfre, kings or dukes of Aquitaine and the Asturias, seeing Charlemagne take possession of the country, and the forts in the hands of the Franks, took up arms under Loper or Loup, son of Vaïfre, but the duke had to take oath of fidelity; but as Charles received little aid from his allies, after taking Pampeluna and Saragossa, he returned to France through the gorges of the Pyrenees. As the army defiled in one long line across the narrow valley of Roncevaux, the Vascons, or Basques, hidden in ambush, threw themselves upon the rear-guard, threw it into disorder, and slew several counts and leaders. Amongst them perished Roland, commander of the marches in Brittany, a nephew of Charlemagne, famous in song, though history tells us only that he fell at Roncevaux. His heroic exploits were long a favourite theme with the poets of the Middle Ages, with his enchanted horn and his wonderful Durandal, or sword, which cleft rock and granite, and cut into the Pyrenees that immense gap called "the Breach of Roland." When the invading army led by William the Con-

queror met the Saxons on the field of Sangluc, near Hastings, it was the "Song of Roland" that Taillefer intoned at the head of the Norman chivalry.

(A.D. 779.) The Saxons again revolted, and were again brought to submission. An army of priests followed upon that of the soldiers, and all the country was divided between abbots and bishops.

About the year 787 Charles had promulgated a code of laws as sanguinary as that of Draco, with the intention of organizing the Saxons. Death was the penalty attached to nearly everything, not alone for crime, but for simple infraction of the ordinances of the Church, for having broken a fast, refused baptism, for intercourse with pagans, or burning, as they did, the bodies of the dead. After forty years of measures such as these, Saxony became broken in and Christian, divided into eight bishoprics, covered with cities and abbeys, the centres of civilization, and this hitherto pagan and barbarous country entered into communion with the rest of the empire. Witikind, the hero of the Saxon war of independence, resisted until the year 785. Seeing all hope to be at an end, he at length submitted, and was baptized at the palace of Charlemagne at Attigny-sur-Aisne. He returned to his country loaded with presents. A German genealogy represents Witikind as the father of Robert-le-Fort, and consequently as the stem of the Capetian dynasty. The massacre of 4500 Saxons, beheaded at Verdun (782), after the lieutenants of Charlemagne had been defeated near Sonnenthal, was a cruel act, unworthy of the great Charles and his counsellors. Saxony was now tranquil, but the Franks had no respite. Beyond the Saxons Charlemagne came in contact with other tribes; he crossed the Elbe, and penetrated to the Oder, giving to the countries lying between them an organization similar to the rest of his empire. His armies entered Bohemia, and made it a province of the empire, but without gaining the submission of the people.

WAR AGAINST THE AVARS (A.D. 787—796).

The Avars, who occupied Pannonia, to the east of Bavaria, leagued with Tassillo, its duke, son-in-law of Didier, the de-throned King of the Lombards, to attack Austrasia, whilst the Greeks, uniting with the Duke of Benevento, should throw themselves upon Italy. Pope Adrian again gave warning to Charles, who at once took energetic measures; Tassillo was enveloped by three armies, and soon appeared before Charles as

a suppliant. He was condemned to death by the Franks; however, in lieu of the harsher sentence, he and his son were shut up in a monastery, and his duchy, divided into counties, was administered by Frank counts. When the Avars arrived they found their allies already vanquished (788). Driven back into Pannonia, they were followed by the Franks. This war did not come to an end before 796. The camp of the Avars, or *ring*, was taken; it consisted of an immense village, built of wood, which covered a large space, enclosed within a hedge of trees: in this ring, or camp, was stored the rapine of several centuries, the spoil of the Byzantines, a strange accumulation of the most splendid, yet useless things to the barbarians. The place was said to be from twelve to fifteen leagues in circuit. The Franks returned so laden with treasure—fruits of the pillage of the luxurious Greek empire—that they became rich as they had never been before. The Avars were so enfeebled after the struggle that, from being all powerful in the valley of the Danube, they had no alternative but to ask an asylum of Charlemagne in Bavaria, to escape the attacks of the Slavi. Part of their country formed the march, or eastern frontier, and was organized similarly to Saxony, with towns and bishoprics. This was the nucleus of the Austrian empire.

After Roncevaux the Franks made six expeditions beyond the Pyrenees. These were led by the sons of Charles, and resulted in the formation of the county of Barcelona, or the march of Spain, and the march of Gascony, which at a later date became the kingdom of Navarre; but the empire did not reach the Ebro; the towns of Huesca and Saragossa remained to the Arabs. Charles built the town of Mont de Marsan, to guard the route of the Pyrenees, upon a hill, consecrated in the early Roman times to Mars; he also placed a fleet on the coast of Corsica, Sardinia, and the Balearic Isles, to keep away Saracen pirates (789).

CHAPTER XIX.

CHARLEMAGNE EMPEROR OF THE WEST (A.D. 800).

ALL these wars were nearly brought to a conclusion during the year 800, and Charles hoped to have a period of repose. From the extent, if not from the cohesive strength of his empire, he was then the greatest sovereign of the world. Why should he

not accomplish what Theodoric could not achieve—the resurrection of the Roman empire. Under the pretext of re-establishing the Pope Leo, who had been driven away, Charles went to Rome (Nov. 24th), and during the Christmas festivals (800), whilst absorbed in prayer, the pope placed upon his head the imperial diadem, and proclaimed him augustus. The astonished emperor with humility feared the burden would be beyond his strength, notwithstanding he gladly accepted the tithes, as well as adopted the ceremonial of the Byzantine court; the whole scene was rather a puerile piece of acting on the part of Charles and his ecclesiastical counsellors. About the same time the priest Zacharias, whom Charles had sent to Jerusalem, arrived at Rome, accompanied by two other priests, sent by the patriarch, bringing the emperor his benediction, with the keys of the holy sepulchre and of Calvary, as well as a standard.

The ceremony which took place in the church of St. Peter on Christmas-day, 800, was a great event, the effects of which still figure on the pages of the history of our day. The heirs of the imperial crown acquired the right to command the Italian, German, and French peoples, who then were united under the sway of the first German emperor. When time and change had passed the title to the kings of Germany, France was strong enough to reject the rule of a foreign cæsar, but not so Italy; out of that arose half the misfortunes which for so long the Peninsula has had to undergo. Another prerogative was also initiated on that eventful day. Like St. Rémy, who consecrated Clovis, Leo III. performed the same ceremony for Charles; henceforth the popes considered this function as theirs by right, and the pontiff as dispenser of crowns. During the Middle Ages the imperial consecration could only take place at Rome, and by the hands of the Holy Father, a right which proved to be the source of much dispute and warfare.

RESULTS OF THE WARS OF CHARLEMAGNE.

In Spain neither the county of Barcelona nor that of Gascony remained to France, except that portion of the latter situated on the northern slope of the Pyrenees. The conquest of the Lombard kingdom profited neither France nor Italy, but the pope, whose political position it raised to one of independence. Strange to say, the country which derived the most lasting good after these long wars, was that of Saxony, the most cruelly treated, but which, through suffering, secured her redemption.

Before Charlemagne, Germany was a chaotic agglomeration of barbarians—Franks, Saxons, Thuringians, Bavarians—enemies one of the other, without cohesion of any kind. After Charlemagne there arose a German people and a German kingdom—this was the greatest glory of his reign.

We first hear of the Normans in this wise. Charlemagne hoped he had shut out the Northmen from Germany, when the outposts of his empire reached as far as the Eyder, but, probably, the Saxon fugitives, pressing forwards, drove them to roam the seas in search of fresh countries and plunder. In the life-time of the emperor, according to the monk St. Gall, they had penetrated, in their small boats, to the Mediterranean, all along that immense extent of coast bordering the north and western countries of Europe. Charlemagne stationed two fleets, one at Boulogne, the other near Ghent. Two others were placed on the Garonne and the Rhône.

The military career of Charles was now at its termination. We have still to enumerate his labours in the administration of the laws, in the sciences, and in learning. Both before and after him the most profound ignorance degraded our ancestors. Ignorant of the most elementary knowledge, the least uninstructed could scarcely do more than spell out their church prayers. The nobles signed with the end of their glove dipped in ink, and applied upon the parchment, upon which their arguments were ill-written by a clerk. They sealed with the hilt of the sword, the acts which they knew far better to make good with the point of that weapon, saying, "This is my testimony."

SCHOOLS.

Charles took an active part in founding schools, and in reforming those already in existence. He invited from all parts, especially Italy, learned masters of grammar and arithmetic, and wrote to all the bishops and convents to encourage them to renew their long neglected studies. He reformed the church music, substituting the Gregorian for the Ambrosian chant, and formed two normal schools for music, one at Metz, the other in the palace of the emperor, following his chapel, but at last fixed at Aix-la-Chapelle, where, towards the latter part of his life, he resided habitually. Charlemagne sometimes assisted at the lessons; once he had confided to Clement, a learned Scot of Hibernia, a number of children of all ranks, in a suitable habitation, with necessary food, and all else, according to their wants.

Some time after he himself examined their letters and their verses. Those of the middle and lower condition presented him with works beyond his hopes; he said to them: "Many thanks, my sons, for having applied so diligently to carry out my wishes, and your own profit. Strive to attain still greater perfection, and I will confer bishoprics and abbeys upon you, and you will be honourable in my eyes." He then turned towards the young nobles, and shamed them by saying, in angry tones: "You reckon upon the services of your fathers, but know they have been recompensed, and that the State owes nothing but to those who merit by their own acts." Charles would also say to bishops and monks: "To live well is to please God, but to speak well is also pleasing to Him."

Charlemagne himself took much trouble to learn things that his father and grandfather would have thought little necessary either for a king or a warrior. He did not confine himself to his native tongue, but desired to know foreign languages; he was so familiar with Latin that he used it as his own speech; with regard to Greek, he understood it, but spoke it only slightly. Thus Greek was not altogether forgotten in the West, and until Charles the Bald, it was cultivated in some degree, but after John Scot Erigena, during five centuries, the most learned men knew nothing of this language.

Charles was a fluent speaker, and loved to talk almost to excess. Patron of the liberal arts, he respected men who were distinguished for their knowledge and loaded them with honours. The deacon, Peter of Pisa, taught him grammar. The celebrated Alcuin, of Anglo-Saxon origin, the most learned man of his day, directed Charlemagne in the study of rhetoric, logic, and astronomy, calculating the movement of the stars with scrupulous attention and wonderful sagacity. He tried even to write, and kept habitually at the head of his bed writing-tablets, with examples to copy for forming the letters; but he did not progress in this study, which he undertook too late to succeed. Like Justinian before and Alfred after him, he compiled and had written the capitula, or laws of the ancient Frank-kings. He did the same for the ancient national songs, or poems, of Germany, in which the exploits of their ancient chiefs were celebrated, and in this manner preserved them for posterity. He himself spoke German habitually, and wore the German costume; like Chilperic, he began to compile a German grammar. In fact, Charlemagne may truly be termed the promoter of a literary revival, and though it developed but slowly, the world

has never since passed through such a period of darkness as that during the seventh and eighth centuries. His age produced Alcuin, the Anglo-Saxon; the Irish Clement; Peter of Pisa; the Lombard Paul Diaconus, who wrote a history of his nation. Theodulfe, Bishop of Orleans, native either of Spain or Septimania, and the best poet of his time, was called in the school of the palace of Charlemagne, Pindar the poet. Alcuin, for a few bad verses, bore the name of Horace, and Angilbert that of Homer. His secretary, Eginhard, wrote a life of Charlemagne of real literary merit. The great Charles himself bore the name of David in his Academia within his own palace. The celebrated Caliph, Haroun-al-Raschid, the master of Western Asia, sought his friendship; amongst the presents sent to the Emperor of the West was an elephant, an animal never before seen by the Franks; also a clock that struck the hours. The Emperor of Constantinople made a treaty with him, according to a Greek proverb which advised: "Have the Frank for friend but not for neighbour."

The diversity of affairs which this prince treated proves the ardent desire he had to secure order and justice in his State, and to allow nothing, however seemingly unimportant, to escape his notice. He presided over the councils, and disputed with the bishops upon the cultus of images or other dogmas. Three hundred bishops condemned at Frankfort what three hundred and fifty bishops approved at Nice. The men of the North, struggling against pagan idolatry, reprobated images. Those of the East held them in honour, in hatred of the Arabs, who destroyed them. The pope held the opinion of the Orientals, but dared not oppose Charlemagne. He looked into the smallest details respecting the administration of his farms. He ordered the eggs of the poultry-yards of his domains and the superfluous herbs of his gardens to be sold. He enumerated even the number of hens and geese, as follows: "There shall be no less than one hundred hens and at least thirty geese in the poultry-yards of our villas; in the simple manors, at least fifty hens and twelve geese." The proceeds from the royal domains being his only revenue, enforced upon Charles a strict administration of them. Further, he ordered that care should be taken that none of his slaves died of hunger, "as far as that could be avoided with the help of God."

He endeavoured to put a stop to mendicity by obliging each of his lieges to feed those destitute found upon his benefice; and he imposed upon each parishioner the obligation to give to

his church the tithe or tenth part of the produce of his land. This was divided into three portions, the first for the maintenance and decoration of the church, the second for the use of the poor and travellers, the third portion only belonged to the priests. Charles began the reform, continued in his son's reign, of the monasteries, through St. Benoit of Assiane; for since the concession of the possessions of the Church by Charles Martel to his leaders, many secular clerks were to be found carrying lance and sword, occupied entirely with the chase and war. He fixed the maximum price at which settlers could dispose of their crops and other productions, and desired to have uniformity in weights and measures.

DEATH OF CHARLEMAGNE (A.D. 814).

It was on the 28th January, 814, that this great man died. His task had been the herculean effort to amalgamate into one homogeneous whole the energetic elements of the barbarian nations, with such Roman civilization as had survived the fall of the empire. Though the work fell to pieces when the hand that upheld it was withdrawn, yet his glory is immortal, and we place his name amongst the three or four greatest rulers of the world; the good he accomplished exceeded by much that which might be attributed to mere sterile ambition or vainglory. He created modern Germany, and if the link with which he had endeavoured to unite nationalities was unequal to the strain upon it, it was because no mere external and material link could effect what requires the invisible but all-powerful tie of moral unity.

The description of the personal appearance of Charlemagne, left by Eginhard, his private secretary, and, as is supposed, his son-in-law, is not very engaging. He was somewhat tall and corpulent, his neck thick, his head round, his nose long, his voice clear and high; he rose regularly every night to sing matins, and during Lent fasted until the eighth hour of the day.

Charlemagne outlived all his wives. Their names were Hermangarde, daughter of Didier, King of the Lombards, Hildegarde, Fastrade, and Leistgarde, German princesses. He had a numerous family; seven or eight daughters and six sons, two of whom died before him. All his daughters were remarkable for beauty and somewhat for levity, notwithstanding their education had been well cared for. "Charlemagne had wished," writes Eginhard, "that his daughters, as well as his sons, should be accomplished in all the liberal arts he had himself delighted in.

From their earliest years he had accustomed his sons, according to the manners of the Franks, to be expert horsemen, and in the exercise of arms and of the chase; he had also wished that his daughters should acquire the habit of tapestry-work, and to hold the spindle and distaff."

In his old age Charlemagne lost his eldest and favourite daughter, Rotrude; his second son, Pepin, King of Italy, died at Milan, 810; and lastly, his son Charles, who died at Aix-la-Chapelle, 811. To his son Louis, surnamed the Pious and the Debonnaire, Charlemagne transmitted all his vast heritage. A Diet was assembled at Aix-la-Chapelle in 813, when he was presented to the people by his father, who ordered him to place a crown which lay upon the altar upon his own head. Not many months after this ceremony Charlemagne was seized with fever, and languished seven days; he received the sacraments, and on the seventh day expired, Jan. 28. His last words were, "In manus Tuas commendo spiritum meum." He was born in 742 and died in 814, and had just entered his seventy-second year at his death. He had reigned forty-seven years over the Franks, forty-three over the Lombards, and fourteen over the Empire of the West, an enormous territory which spread from the Tiber and Ebro to the Elbe.

As he had left no orders respecting the place of his sepulchre, it was for some time undecided where his revered remains should be placed. At length the choice of his eternal abode and last palace fell upon the magnificent chapel of Aix, under the invocation of the Virgin. He was taken down into one of its vaults, dressed in the hair shirt he habitually wore, and above it the imperial robes. Around his loins they buckled his glorious sword, Joyeuse, "with which," says the old chronicle of St. Denis, "he had cleft in two a cavalier in full armour." They seated him on a throne of marble, his crown upon his head, his book of the evangelists upon his knees, his two feet placed, one on the sceptre, the other on the shield of gold, blessed by the Pope Leon. They hung around his neck a precious chain, to which a particle of the true cross had been suspended, within a reliquary; his royal mantle enveloped his shoulders, and to his girdle was buckled the pilgrim's purse he always wore when on his journeys to Rome. Then, after perfuming the sepulchre, which had been paved with gold pieces, the door of bronze was closed and sealed, and a triumphal arch raised above the tomb, on which was engraved his epitaph, "Hic jacet Carolus Magnus."

CHAPTER XX.

LOUIS THE DEBONNAIRE (A.D. 814—846).

LOUIS was thirty-six years old when called upon to rule the vast inheritance which the puissant monarch of the West had confided to him. He had married Hermengarde sixteen years before, and had three sons, Lothaire, Pepin, and Louis. When Pope Stephen IV. came to perform in France the ceremony of consecration, he was permitted by the king to pronounce these words : "Peter considers the act glorious which gives thee this crown, because thou assurest to him the free possession of his rights" —words which implied that the Holy See had the right to dispose of the imperial crown.

Louis had been brought up in Aquitaine by Saint William of Toulouse. There is said to have been much resemblance in character between the saintly Debonnaire of the ninth century and Saint Louis of the thirteenth century—both were imbued with the sentiments of the Crusader. When still young the Debonnaire led many expeditions against the Saracens of Spain, and took Barcelona after a siege of two years. Both the Carolingian Saint Louis and the Capetian Saint Louis were always grave ; both of them carefully avoided immoderate laughter, and both of them showed the desire to repair the unjust aggressions of their less scrupulous fathers. Many useful reforms signalized the early part of the reign of Louis the Debonnaire ; but the immense extent of his empire appeared too heavy a burden for him, and he hastened to share it with his children. To Pepin he gave Aquitaine ; Bavaria to Louis ; Lothaire, the eldest, was associated in the empire : without his authorization his brothers could not declare war, conclude a treaty, or concede a town.

REVOLT AND DEATH OF BERNARD (A.D. 817—818).

Bernard had been declared king of Italy by his grandfather ; as heir of Charlemagne's eldest son, he felt therefore that the pre-eminence given to Lothaire belonged to him, and, spurred on by resentment, he placed himself at the head of a party of malcontents anxious to throw off the yoke of the barbarians and commence a distinct and national government. The emperor was returning from a grand hunting expedition in the forest of the Vosges to pass the winter at Aix-la-Chapelle, when he learnt that his nephew Bernard had revolted against him. Louis

instantly drew from Gaul, from Germany, and all sides a numerous army, and advanced to Châlons. Bernard, however, repented his rashness and, in order to avoid civil war, came to Châlons, and, throwing himself upon his uncle's clemency, implored his pardon. It is now that the good but feeble Louis permitted an atrocious crime, which caused him many hours of bitterness and repentance. Bernard and his accomplices were condemned to death, but, as he could not be induced to carry out the capital sentence, his wife Hermengarde, who hated Bernard as the rival of her son, obtained of the emperor that Bernard should be deprived of his eyes; and she had it so ordered that in three days he died.

The endeavour of the Italians to separate themselves from the empire was premature, for the French were not as yet inclined to see it fall into dissolution, and they entered with ardour into every war which seemed likely to ensure its conservation. With the aid, therefore, of his liege men, the emperor successfully put down all the tributary nations, who had regarded the death of Charlemagne as the signal for a general arming. The Slavi of the Elbe invaded Saxony; the Avars of Pannonia had revolted; the Bretons had advanced beyond their peninsula; the Vascons had destroyed a Frank army, and the Moors of Spain had entered the Septimania; whilst Saracens ravaged the southern coasts, the Normans harried the western. But all were repelled, the rebels subdued, and Louis seemed for a time to carry as worthily as his father the imperial sceptre.

PUBLIC PENITENCE OF LOUIS (A.D. 822).

To found a monastery after committing the greatest crimes appeared to the Merovingian kings an ample atonement. The penitence of Louis is like a new era in morality, the advent of conscience. "In the year 822 the emperor convoked a general assembly in his royal villa of Attigny. Having called the bishops, the abbés, the ecclesiastics, and the nobles of his kingdom, his first care was to seek reconciliation with his brothers, whom he had shorn against their will; then with those whom he believed to have in any way injured or offended; after which, he made a public confession of his faults, and with his free-will submitted to do penance for all that he reproached himself, both towards his nephew Bernard and towards others."

It was really a grand spectacle to see a powerful monarch publicly avow his faults, and seek to atone for them with hu-

military and repentance. Theodosius had thus humiliated himself before the Roman people in the cathedral of Milan, impelled by the stings of conscience and remorse ; but it was before God alone, and not to an assembly of men, that he had prayed to be absolved. When Louis left his palace of Attigny, it was with lessened authority ; henceforth each one knew how far he might dare with such a ruler.

CIVIL WARS.—JUDITH.

Hermengarde did not long outlive her victim Bernard, and the year after Louis married the beautiful but ambitious Judith, daughter of Count Guelph of Bavaria. After the birth of her son Charles, called at a later period, *le chauve*, or the Bald, she induced the emperor to commit all kinds of injustice, in order to favour this youngest and best-loved child. Divisions in the family and general discontent throughout the kingdom commenced the dissolution of the empire. The nobles, the bishops, and even the sons of Louis fomented this discontent. At length it broke out into open revolt ; chiefs were needed to head the movement, and these were found in the sons of Louis. Abandoned by all, the emperor fell into the hands of his rebellious sons. The Empress Judith they oblige to enter the convent of St. Radegonde at Poitiers and take the veil, cut off the hair of her brothers, and shut up their father with monks who had to induce him to embrace the religious life ; but they negotiated between Pepin, and Louis, and the emperor, who promised to augment their kingdoms if they re-established him in his authority, and, as they were jealous of the supremacy assumed by Lothaire, they consented. An assembly was convoked at Nimeguen, in the midst of the Eastern Franks, who desired to maintain the empire in its integrity, and Louis was restored to power 830. The intrigues in his family continued, however, and the Pope, Gregory IV., took part against Louis, and threatened with excommunication all those who should fight against Lothaire. The pious emperor himself sent away the troops who remained faithful to him, saying, "I wish no one to die for me ; go over to my sons." This took place at Bothfield ; since called Lugenfeld, or field of perfidy. He then gave himself, with Judith and the young Charles, into the hands of Lothaire, who obliged his father to read in the church of St. Medard at Soissons, before the people, a long recital of all his faults, for having provoked civil war ; after which, the bishops

took off his baldrick, and gave him the penitent's dress. The pious resignation of the emperor and the revolting ingratitude of his sons excited the compassion of the people. Again the brothers would not consent that Charles, the youngest, should have a share in the kingdom, nor yet would Louis and Pepin obey Lothaire, the eldest. "Never did civil war present a more degrading spectacle, more debasing for human nature, than that of the sons of Louis the Debonnaire; it was marked neither by great talents, great virtues, nor great passions, nor even by great crimes. . . . The empire appeared like some gigantic body in its last convulsions, from which the soul had already fled." Neither is it profitable to follow the details of the perfidious reconciliations which fill the reign of the well-intentioned but feeble Louis. Notwithstanding the revolt of his sons, he never for long found himself without support from the Germanic peoples, whom Charlemagne had always favoured. The inhabitants of Gaul, on the contrary, were more disposed to rebellion, and more easily gained over to side with the sons of the emperor. It was the epoch when the distinctions of France and Germany became defined. The name of France became attached to the country of the Gauls, in which was spoken the Romance (*langue Romane*), mixture of Latin and of the Frank language, the Latin being dominant in it, though the speech of the vanquished; whilst the people beyond the Rhine spoke Teutonic, and though preserving the name of Franks belonged to Germany.

DEATH OF PEPIN (A.D. 838).

Pepin d'Aquitaine was the best and least insubordinate of the sons of Louis. At his death there was a fresh division of the empire: the young Charles, son of Judith, received Aquitaine, Neustria, and a part of Burgundy and Austrasia; Lothaire had Italy, Germany, except Bavaria, Provence, with a part of Burgundy and Austrasia. The sons of Pepin and Louis the German, who had only the small province of Bavaria, felt this partition to be unjust, and took up arms.

DEATH OF LOUIS LE DEBONNAIRE (A.D. 840).

When marching towards Thuringia to oppose Louis, who was supported by all Germany, the old emperor was taken ill of dropsy on the chest, and died at his palace of Ingelheim, on an island of the Rhine near Mayence. For the bishops who inter-

ceded for the rebellious Louis, his last words were : " I pardon him ; but let him know that he is the cause of my death."

CHAPTER XXI.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE EMPIRE OF CHARLEMAGNE.—BATTLE OF FONTANET OR FONTENAY (A.D. 841).

THE people were tired of these perpetual changes, and each great division of the empire desired a king to form a separate state. All the tribes of Germany under Louis, the German, with the Neustrians and the people of Aquitaine, Burgundy, and of Provence, under Charles the Bald, fought in the same ranks against Lothaire, eldest son of Louis le Debonnaire, at the head of all the Frank population established between the Seine and the Rhine, seconded by the Italians, who had adopted the new emperors as the legitimate heirs of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan ; Lothaire bore the title of emperor, and considered his brothers simply as his lieutenants. A battle was fought at Fontanet (841), near Auxerre, to decide this momentous question, which was indecisive, and the war continued. Charles and Louis met at Strasburg to cement their union against Lothaire ; and swore alliance before their soldiers : one in the Tudesque, or German tongue, the other in the Romance, or French tongue. This alliance was celebrated by military fêtes, which are considered to have originated tournaments.

TREATY OF VERDUN (A.D. 843).

As it was evident that Charles and Louis had resolved to dismember the empire, Lothaire decided to treat with them ; in order to have a clear idea of the limits of the empire, a hundred and ten commissioners traversed the whole of the provinces, and, the partition being agreed upon, the treaty was signed at Verdun (843). The three principal peoples of the empire, Germans, Gallo-Romans, and Italians separated for ever. The first under Louis the German ; the second under Charles the Bald ; the third under Lothaire. The title of emperor—title without power—remained attached to the possession of Rome and Italy. But to render the portion of Lothaire less unequal, a long and

narrow strip of territory, stretching from the Meuse to the Rhine; from the Saône and the Rhône to the Alps (Belgium, Lotharingia, or Lorraine); the country of Burgundy, Dauphiny, and Provence was conceded to him. "This treaty," says a French writer, "reduced Gaul by a third; and for the first time took from her her natural limits of the Rhine and the Alps." For a thousand years this has been the constant endeavour of France to regain, but the efforts of Francis I., of Henry II., of Richelieu, of Louis XIV., of the Revolution, and of Napoleon, have only been partially successful. Charles the Bald, then, who signed this treaty, was the first king of modern France, as Louis the German was the first king of Germany; Lothaire continued the kingdom of Italy, which was so often to rise and fall.

CHAPTER XXII.

CHARLES THE BALD (A.D. 843—877).

UP to this date we have had a history of Gaul, of the Gallo-Romans, and of the Franks; after the Treaty of Verdun (843) we begin a history of the French. In fact, France had received at this time—except the Normans, who, however, had already appeared on the coasts, and of whom a few had established themselves in one or two localities—all the races of which the population is formed, all the Celtic, Roman, Christian, and German elements, from the combination of which her civilization was to be evolved. The civilized was no longer distinguishable from the barbarian, the Gallo-Roman from the Frank. All had adopted similar customs, and almost similar speech; the French idiom was first officially used at the Treaty of Verdun. There were hardly any slaves, yet few free men; soon there will be none but serfs and nobles.

As the empire of Charlemagne had fallen into three parts, France again split up into separate feudal principalities. As the sovereign power became enfeebled under the Carlovingians, the chieftains of the various provinces, especially those who acquired hereditary right, assumed a power so nearly approaching to sovereignty, as to be scarcely distinguishable except in name, rendering only a nominal obedience to the sovereign. Many of the prelates acquired the same political independence.

THE NORMANS.

The Treaty of Verdun was the most important event of the Middle Ages, because it separated for ever France from Germany ; but whilst the civil wars seemed to be at an end, a scourge, not less to be dreaded, appeared on the coasts of France. The same year that Charles signed the Treaty of Verdun, the town of Rouen was burnt, and Nantes, Saintes, and Bordeaux were pillaged by the Normans. These sea kings, in their light barks, with two sails, driven by hunger and love of pillage and adventure, would yearly set out from the sterile regions of Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, and with an easterly wind, reach within three or four days the mouth of the Seine, or the Loire, or other parts of the coast ; each fleet was under the command of a konung, or king, but he was only king on the sea and in the combat, for, at the hour of festivity, the whole troop sat at the same table, and horns filled with ale passed from hand to hand without distinction of any kind. The sea king was, however, served with fidelity and zeal, because he was always reputed the bravest amongst the brave, and as one who had never quaffed his ale under the shelter of a roof. "The force of the tempest," they would sing, "aids the arms of our rowers ; the hurricane is at our service, it throws us where we wish to go." Religious fanaticism induced these pirates to shed the blood of Christian priests, and to desecrate the churches by stabling their horses within the consecrated walls ; themselves worshippers of Odin, they would sing, after ravaging a Christian country : "We have chaunted them the mass of the lance ; the service began early in the morning and lasted until night."

After 843 they came habitually every year. They would enter the mouths of the rivers, as the Scheldt, the Somme, the Seine, the Loire, and the Gironde, and from thence penetrate into the interior of the country. Numbers of towns, such as Orleans and Paris, were pillaged, and Charles could not defend them. At length they remained during the winter, and established themselves in the island of Oyssel, above Rouen, at Noirmoutiers, near the mouth of the Loire, and in the river at the island of Bière, near St. Florent, where they stored their plunder, and set out for their distant expeditions.

The chroniclers of that period are unable to account for the apathy of the Franks in allowing themselves to be pillaged by a few adventurers. They overlook the fifty-three expeditions of Charlemagne, which had used up the Frank nation ; also, that

many of his warriors established themselves in the newly conquered territories, and thus became widely dispersed over the surface of the three kingdoms. The diminished number of free men was still further lessened during the time of increasing anarchy; they preferred to give up their independence, which left them isolated, and, consequently, in peril, and to make themselves vassals of men capable of defending them. The edict of Mersen, 847, decreed: "That every free man could choose a lord, either the king, or one of his vassals, and no vassal of the king should be obliged to follow him to war, except against a foreign enemy." Thus, in civil war the king remained powerless, and as he was as incapable of exacting obedience from the great as of protecting the little, these latter grouped themselves around the former, and the vassals of the king diminished as those of the nobles augmented. On all sides *national* interest was selfishly overlooked in order to provide for *personal* interest. Rouen cared little for the pillage of Bordeaux, Saintes for that of Paris. The same cause extinguished—as it did during the degeneracy of the Roman empire—the noble sentiment of patriotism, and enabled small bands of daring pirates to defy and ravage with impunity a great country. Charles tried to get rid of them by giving them gold. Rome had acted in the same manner. But this only induced the Normans to renew their attacks. The famous Lodbrog, one of the Vikings, when thrown by his enemies into a deep pit amidst vipers, thus proudly shouted defiance in his dying agonies, as the Indian chief chaunts his death-song in the midst of torture: "We have combated with the sword! I was still young when, in the straits of Eirar, we hollowed out a river of blood for the wolves, and gave to the yellow-footed bird a banquet of corpses; the sea was red as a gaping wound, and the ravens swam in blood.

"We have combated with the sword! I have seen near Aienlaue (England) innumerable corpses covering the deck of their barks; we fought six days and the enemy was not overcome; the seventh day, when the sun rose, we celebrated the mass of the sword. Valthiof was forced to give way before our arms. . . . The bow twanged, and the arrows pierced the coats of mail; the sweat ran down upon the blade of the sword; poison was instilled into the wounds, and the warriors fell under the blows as with the hammer of Odin. We have combated with the sword! Death seizes me! The fangs of the viper strike deep! I feel them round my heart! Soon the sword will avenge me in the blood of Cella; my sons will tremble with

rage at the news of my death; the flush of anger will crimson their brow—hardy warriors, they will revenge me! It must end! behold, Odin sends for me to his joyous palace. I am going with the Aden, the messenger of the gods to the glorious Walhalla, to drink hydromel in the place of honour; the hours of my life have run out, and I smile at death."

Another of the celebrated Norman sea kings was Hastings. He ravaged the banks of the Loire from 845 to 850, sacked Bordeaux, Saintes, and menaced Tarbes, which, to this day, on the 21st of May, celebrates a victory gained over him and his followers. After pillaging in all directions, he reached the borders of Italy, and took the town of Luna, thinking it Rome. On his return from this expedition Hastings encountered, near Angers, Robert-le-Fort, or the Strong, ancestor of the Capetians. It was evening, and the Normans were only four hundred in number; they sought refuge in a church, and barricaded the entrance. The French retired, intending to attack the pagans on the following day, but suddenly, just as Robert had taken off his casque and coat of mail, the Normans burst upon his dispersed soldiers; without waiting to arm, Robert rallied his troops, and drove the enemy back; he fought with bare head and chest, and was mortally wounded. Delivered from this formidable opponent, Hastings sailed up the Loire, and penetrated as far as Clermont Ferrand. France being unable to get rid of him, he was given the county of Chartres, but, unable to settle down, he left it, when nearly seventy, to set out once more in search of adventure.

Charles the Bald, who could hardly bear the weight of his own crown, coveted the imperial purple. His elder brother, Lothair, had died 855, and his inheritance had been divided between his three sons. The elder had Italy, the second Lothuringia, the third Provence. The two younger died without leaving children. Charles divided Provence with Louis the German, his brother, 870. On the death of Louis, 877, he went to Rome, intending once more to unite Germany under the Pope, and receive of him the imperial crown. Carloman, the eldest son of Louis the German, intending to dispute his title, set out to oppose his uncle; but Charles died of an attack of fever in a village at the foot of Mount Cenis. It was pretended that a Jewish doctor, Sedecias, had poisoned him.

Charles had first married Hermentrude, daughter of Eudes of Eudo, Count of Orleans. His sons were Louis, the slain miser, crowned King of Neustria during his father's lifetime; Charles,

King of Aquitaine, who died early—Aquitaine going to Louis ; there was a third son, Lothair, Abbot of St. Germain l'Auxerois ; and a fourth son, Carloman, who was also made to enter the Church, but having no vocation for a life of tranquillity, he put himself at the head of a band of robbers, and after a short life of disorder, was taken, and had his eyes put out, through which he died.

Judith, the eldest daughter of Charles, married Ethelwolf, King of England, who, with the young King Alfred, visited the court of France on their return from Rome. She afterwards married Ethelred of England, and thirdly Baldwin, Count of Flanders ; her younger sisters, Rotrude and Hermentrude, were abbesses.

Charles the Bald married secondly Bichilde, daughter of a count of Ardennes, and sister of Richard, Duke of Burgundy. All the children of this marriage died young.

CHAPTER XXIII.

FEUDAL SYSTEM.

THE reign of Charles was a humiliating period of French history, and the decay of the Carlovingian dynasty was rapid ; already the era of a new power was commencing—that of the great fiefs which was to reduce the royal authority to that of a mere suzerainty. The king became simply the first lord, his revenues were drawn from his domains. The dukes and counts rendered him homage, and had to furnish him soldiers ; that was all. The great dignitaries received in their turn the homage of the vassals of the second order, and so on, down to the very serfs of the glebe. The higher ecclesiastics entered into this order of feudality.

The dukes and counts were at first as impotent as the king to resist the Norman and Saracen marauders. At length a few people of heart refused to fly into the woods and forests at the approach of the pagans, like wild beasts. Here and there, in the gorge of a mountain pass, or the ford of a river, or upon the steep crest of a hill, arose walled intrenchments, from behind which a few of the braver of the people held good against the marauders. An edict was passed, 862, which ordered the counts

and vassals of the king to repair the ancient castles, and build others. The country was soon covered with these feudal fortresses, against which the invaders spent their strength in vain. Their audacity diminished ; they dared no longer penetrate into the midst of these impregnable places which had sprung up in every direction ; marauding was no longer a pastime, and finally ceased altogether in the following century. The masters of these



NORTHMEN.

castles, after having been the safeguard of the surrounding country, were, in their turn, the terror and ravagers of their neighbourhood, when the feudal system became oppressive. Thus, the requirements of one age develop too frequently into an abuse of the next. An article in the edict of Pistes, quite at the beginning of feudal times, already ordered the demolition of certain castles, which had become the retreat of robbers, from whom their neighbours suffered great affliction and pillage.

THE CHURCH.

In the ninth century, as the kingly power grew feeble, and that of feudality had as yet not risen high, the Church alone had full vigour. It united superiority of establishment and morality, rich domains, and possessed the ardent belief of the people. Thus, the Church alone at that period was endowed with unity and vigorous energy. Since Charlemagne, who had mixed up the bishops in the government of his empire, they

took a share in all public affairs, and spoke in all, with authority, and in such an age it was a happy circumstance for the world that it was so ordered. When every one was at the mercy of the strongest, the Church raised her voice to remind the oppressor that force must succumb to justice; to the feudal lord she opposed the brotherhood of humanity; instead of hereditary rights, she practised that of election, and of the rights of intelligence; and if the prerogative she assumed to depose kings was a usurpation of power, it must be borne in mind that the temporal power needed a counterpoise in the sacerdotal power, and that the feeble, the oppressed, and the poor had no other guarantee than that of the Church. When the law was powerless, and public opinion, as a force, was unborn, it was good that there should exist a voice strong enough to plead for the weak, and to judge offended morality.

LOUIS THE STAMMERER, A.D. 877—879.—LOUIS III., AND
CARLOMAN, A.D. 879—887.

Louis, king of Aquitaine since 864, succeeded his father, Charles the Bald, not as emperor, but as king of France. When thirty-one years old, he was crowned at Compiègne by the Archbishop of Rheims, Hincmar, the most celebrated amongst the clergy of that day. His sons, Louis III. and Carloman, reigned amicably, one in Neustria the other in Aquitaine and Bourgoigne.

The feeble character of Louis the Stammerer augmented the power of the nobles. Bernard, Marquis of Septimania, and Count of Poitiers and Autun, also another Bernard, Count of Auvergne, with Boson, Duke of Provence, almost rivalled the king in power. The latter had married Hermangarde, a daughter of Louis II., who unceasingly excited his ambition. The health of Louis had always been delicate; he died at Compiègne, A.D. 879.

Louis III. and Carloman were his sons by a first marriage with Ausgarde; his second wife, Alix or Adelaide, was the mother of Charles the Simple. The two elder sons, Louis III. and Carloman, were crowned in the abbey of Ferrières, but their authority was menaced by the ambition of the great vassals. Boson, their brother-in-law, was elected King of Arles and Provence, chiefly by the bishops, thus detaching a large portion of France from the sceptre of the Carolingians. Louis and Carloman implored the aid of their uncle, Charles le Gros, or the Fat.

The young kings were not without personal courage; they beat the Normans in several encounters; but both came to an untimely end. After reigning two years, Louis was killed by his horse dashing his brains out against the arch of a doorway too low for him to pass. Carloman reigned two years longer, and died from the effects of a wound accidentally inflicted during hunting. The princes of the Carlovingian race were nearly all dead, except Charles the Fat, so named on account of his excessive corpulence, and the infant, Charles the Simple, youngest son of the Stammerer. The nobles preferred the elder Charles, emperor and king of Germany; but this man, who won so many crowns, could not even intimidate the Normans.

CHARLES THE FAT, A.D. 885—886.

The famous Rollo, the founder of the dynasty of the dukes of Normandy, was a kind of giant in size and strength. He always went on foot, never having found a horse capable of carrying him. Rollo had just taken Rouen and Pontoise, and had been joined by his compatriot Hastings, the new Count of Chartres, and together they marched on Paris. The town resisted for a whole year under Eudo, son of Robert le Fort, and the bishop, Gozlin. At length Charles arrived with an army on the heights of Montmartre—but not to fight; it was to buy their retreat, with permission to winter in Burgundy. The cowardice of the emperor, in having treated with the pirates, outraged the people. Charles was deposed at the diet of Tribur, A.D. 887, and since then, Germany, Italy, and France have never been united under one crown. Out of the dismembered empire seven kingdoms were formed—France, Navarre, Cis-Jura and Trans-Jura, Burgundy, Lorraine, and Italy.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FEUDAL FRANCE.—FIFTH PERIOD.—THE LAST OF THE CARLOVINGIANS, AND THE DUKES OF FRANCE (A.D. 887—987).

THE vast empire left by Charlemagne to his descendants scarcely three-quarters of a century before had now come to an end, and even the King of France possessed little more than a name. Eudes, who had defended Paris so bravely against the Normans.

and received of the emperor the duchy of France, was elected by the nobles king after the deposition of Charles. He was the son of Robert the Strong, and ancestor of all the Capets; but France had no less than five kings, however. These were the kings of Lorraine, of Aquitaine, of Burgundy-les-Jura, under Louis, son of Boson, and Trans-Jura Burgundy, under Rodolph, son of a count of Auxerre. A sixth king, Charles the Simple, now put in his claim. These kingdoms did not include those of Navarre and Brittany. The Normans were soon also to demand, and to obtain a large share of territory.

The active and brave Eudes was carried off prematurely at the age of forty. His brother Robert inherited the duchy of France, and Charles the Simple succeeded him as king without opposition.

CHARLES THE SIMPLE (A.D. 898).

The first years of the reign of Charles have had little notice; but, on the whole, no portion of the history of France has shown more misfortune and feebleness than his reign. To the Norman and the Saracen invaders a third people, the Hungarians, or Madgyars, made their appearance from the plains of Scythia, and ravaged the whole of southern Germany. These new invaders brought with them their wives and families in chariots, themselves mounted on little active horses. Their arms were bows and arrows, and they were formidable both in their attack and retreat, and surpassed in cruelty even the Normans.

The Normans had now Rollo, or Raoul, at their head, a brave and astute warrior, to whom Charles, unable to offer any resistance, ceded the province which took the name of Normandy, and which, under the wise administration of the new duke, became the most flourishing portion of the kingdom. This treaty was signed at St. Clair-sur-Epte, and was really a happy circumstance for the country, as it put an end to the devastations of the Northmen, which had lasted for more than a century. The new masters of the province soon forgot their own language and their ferocity, and mixed with the population. Rollo married Gisèle, a daughter of Charles, and was baptized Christian at Rouen, with many of his followers (912). Soon the effects of good government were perceptible in the cultivation and rapid improvement of this rich country. There servitude was first abolished, and there the Romance tongue was first spoken with polish, vigour, and purity. In Normandy the convent schools were most flourishing. The feudal system existed under its best aspect. Lastly,

the splendid monuments in the style of architecture we call *ogivale*, or Norman, began a new era in ecclesiastical structures.

Charles the Simple was now the sole descendant of Charlemagne, as, in the same year as the concession of Normandy, Louis IV., son of Arnulf of Germany, died at the early age of adolescence (912); but the feeble character of Charles impelled the Germans to reject his claims, and to elect Conrad, Duke of Franconia. Lorraine, however, accepted Charles, but, on the death of Conrad, Lorraine declared for his successor, Henry of Saxony. Charles had now scarcely a shadow of power. The nobles would no longer obey him, and (922) they crowned Robert Duke of France. The year following the two princes met in battle near Soissons; Charles was beaten, but his rival was killed. A successor to his claims soon replaced him; this was his son-in-law, Raoul, Duke of Burgundy. Charles, with some aid from the Germans, who were more faithful to the blood of Charlemagne than the French, made a final effort of resistance. He was, however, treacherously taken prisoner by Herbert, Count of Vermandois, and shut up in the castle of Peronne, where he died (929).

Raoul reigned seven years without any noticeable event, and at his death Hugues, the great Duke of France, his brother-in-law, recalled from England Louis d'Outre-mer, a son of Charles the Simple, then only sixteen, with his mother Ogive. The courage and activity of this prince were useless to save his dynasty. Hugues, surprised at the unexpected character of the young prince, whom he thought easily to govern, armed against him and retained him in captivity a whole year. He only regained his liberty on condition of giving up to Hugues his only remaining town of Laon. This unhappy prince terminated a life of tribulation by an accident in hunting. He was on his way towards Reims when he met with a wolf on the banks of the Aisne, and, wishing to pursue it, was thrown violently to the ground by his terrified horse. He then died, at the early age of thirty-four years (954). He left two sons, Lothaire and Charles.

Hugues, Duke of France, next gave the crown to his nephew Lothaire, eldest son of Louis d'Outre-mer. This prince was only thirteen years old at the death of his father. At his coronation the young king ceded the duchy of Aquitaine to the ambitious Hugues, but before the duke could take possession of this newly-acquired territory he died (956) at his castle of Dourdon-sur-Orge, and was interred at St. Denis. His eldest son, Hugues Capet, Count of Paris, succeeded him also as Duke of France;

he was only ten years old at his father's death. The minority of the two cousins, Lothaire and Hugues, passed tranquilly under the government of their mothers Gerberge and Hedwige, under the protection of the Emperor Otho the Great. Charles, the younger brother of Lothaire, received from Otho II. the duchy of Brabant, or Lower Lorraine, and Hugues Capet held in fief from Lothaire the duchy of Burgundy. Lothaire died at the age of forty-six, and was buried at Reims.

Louis V. succeeded his father at the age of twenty, but he reigned only one year, being killed by a fall from his horse (987). He left no children. His uncle Charles, Duke of Lorraine and Brabant, was now the sole remaining representative of the race of Charlemagne. He was, however, passed over as a vassal of the King of Germany, and, therefore, displeasing to the nobles and bishops of France. With Louis V., therefore, the dynasty of Charlemagne came to an end.

CHAPTER XXV.

FRENCH MONARCHY.—FEUDAL ROYALTY.—NATIONAL RACE.— CAPETIAN.

HUGH CAPET, or Chapet, son of Hugh the Great, Duke of France, Count of Paris and of Orleans, moreover Abbot of St. Martin of Tours, of St. Denis, and of St. Germain des Prés, the three richest abbeys of France, decided upon taking the title of king, which his father had only deferred. His brother, the Duke of Burgundy, and his brother-in-law, the Duke of Normandy, with the other principal nobles and bishops of France, assembled at Senlis, and rejecting Charles of Lorraine, the last of the Carolingians, as German in sympathy and education, proclaimed Hugh Capet as their king at Noyon (987). The Capets were of Saxon origin. The mother of Hugh was Hedwige, daughter of the Emperor Henry the Fowler; on his father's side he was grandson of Robert-le-Fort. It is difficult to trace his ancestry beyond Robert, and it was popularly believed to have been obscure. Dante, in his "Purgatorio," reproducing the general belief, makes the Capets descend from a butcher of Paris—

"Figliuoloi fui' d'un beccario di Parigi."

It was much more to the purpose apparently that the third

race should commence as did the second race, with a family of vast possessions, and upheld by the Church. It was necessary that it should be so, for though the last of the Carolingians had been by no means deficient in kingly qualifications and courage, they were rendered powerless on account of the misery entailed on them by the effects of the hereditary fiefs. They had been reduced to the possession of one small town, that of Laon. They had thus no means of repaying a service, nor lands, for there were no royal domains; neither any money, for there was no system of taxation, nor functions—feudalism had appropriated everything. The kingly power was, therefore, *nil* and degraded.

The history of France begins with the French language, for language is the principal sign of nationality. Hitherto the only written language in Gaul had been the Latin, and a corrupt Latin called the *Romane*, or *Romance*, was spoken in common, for the French language and, for all the rest, nationality did not commence until after the accession of the third race. Henceforth France, although divided by feudalism, will little by little group round one chief. The last of the Carolingians had possessed so little respect or power that the change of dynasty so important in history was of slight interest to the great vassals, more powerful by far than their suzerain the king. Little is recorded respecting the reign of Hugh Capet. He probably endeavoured to maintain some authority over the nobles. The reply of the proud Adalbert of Perigord will show the unruly spirit of the haughty men who considered themselves "*pairs du roi*," or of equal rank. Adalbert had made war against the Count of Poitou, and had taken from him the towns of Poitiers and Tours, upon which he had himself named Count. "Who has made thee count?" Hugh Capet asked of him. "And who made thee king?" was the haughty reply of Adalbert. The authority of the new king rested principally upon the clergy, to whom he chiefly owed the crown, and toward whom he always showed the greatest deference. Some of the great nobles, as the Counts of Flanders, Vermandois, Troyes, Poitiers, and Toulouse, had even declared for Charles of Lorraine, but this prince was ill-sustained by them, and, being betrayed to Hugh, was shut up in a tower at Orleans, and died at the end of a year. His eldest son Otho kept the duchy of Lorraine (or Brabant), and died (1005) without leaving posterity. Two twin sons of Charles, born during the time of his captivity, named Charles and Louis, left no certain traces of their destinies, though the Guises of the sixteenth century pretended to be descendants of one or other of these princes. The

two daughters of Charles of Lorraine, Hermengarde and Gerberge, were married to the Counts of Namur and of Flanders.

In the time of Hugh the twelve great peers of France, who considered themselves almost his equals, were the Count of Flanders; Heribert, Count of Vermandois (Picardy); Henry, Duke of Burgundy, brother of Hugh; Richard Sans-peur, Duke of Normandy, grandson of Rollo; Guillaume Fier-à-bras, Duke of Aquitaine and Count of Poitiers; Guillaume Taillefer, Count of Toulouse. Hugh Capet made the seventh peer. There were also six ecclesiastical peers: as we call them now, lay, or temporal, and spiritual peers. The annals of this reign are filled with the quarrels of the great nobles. Hugh died at the age of fifty-four years, having occupied the throne during nine years, from 987 to 996. His surname of Capet appears to have meant, "Man of head and energy." He resided habitually in Paris, and was buried at St. Denis. The social state was very unequal—a few great names of dukes, counts, and prelates, all below a mass of miserable human beings, without names, without rights, without property. Such was the spirit of feudalism. Hugh Capet married Adelaide, daughter of Guillaume Tête-d'étaupe—so surnamed on account of his flaxen hair—Duke of Guyenne and Count of Poitiers. He had one son, Robert, who succeeded him, and two daughters, Hatwige and Gisèle.

ROBERT (A.D. 996—1031).—UNIVERSAL PANIC (A.D. 1000).

It was a universal belief in the Middle Ages that the world was to finish with the year 1000 of the Incarnation. Before Christianity the Etruscans had fixed the term of their existence as a people to ten centuries, and the prediction was accomplished. Christianity, with all its hopes fixed on another life, easily adopted this belief. This expectation of the end of the world formed a strange union of terror and of hope in the mind of that period. Donations to the churches were multiplied, for who cared to hoard up when the last judgment was at hand; thus piety and charity increased with the fear. It was not worth while to make war or fight for a world all were so soon to lose. It seemed also as if the order of the seasons had been changed, and that a new state of things was to take place. A terrible plague raged in Aquitaine; the churches were besieged, and all the roads leading to popular shrines or places of pilgrimage were crowded with the unfortunate plague-stricken population. Famine is usually the accompaniment of pestilence; a

year or two after famine decimated the countries of the East, of Greece, of Italy, France, and England. The rich could hardly buy food; the poor gnawed the roots of the forest, and excessive hunger drove some to cannibalism.

Robert never lost the impression of these years of misery, excited expectation, and panic; it created in him the character of a saint. The instructor of his youth was the celebrated Gerbert, who, born in an humble condition of life, became pope as Sylvester II., and was one of the most celebrated men of that age. Study was his dominant passion, and he was so learned in exact science and all the knowledge of the East, which he had studied in the Arab universities of Spain, that, like our Roger Bacon, so much knowledge terrified his contemporaries, and he was supposed to have formed a pact with the evil one; but his virtue equalled his talents. He was the first to feel indignant at the outrages to which the Holy Sepulchre was subjected by the Mussulmans, and endeavoured to inflame the Christian community to redress them. Gerbert, when Pope Sylvester II., invented the pendulum clock, and substituted in Europe for the old Roman figures nine signs, almost resembling those now in use, which greatly facilitated calculation in arithmetic.

Robert had married his cousin Bertha, and drew upon himself the censure of the Church, notwithstanding his piety, because he long resisted the order of Pope Gregory V. to separate from his wife on account of their relationship. The king was at length excommunicated. The fear which this sentence occasioned amongst the people was so great that every one fled on his approach. Only two faithful servants remained near him to bring him his food, and they threw into the fire everything he had used or touched. Robert had to submit; he repudiated Bertha, and married the beautiful but imperious Constance, a daughter of Guillaume Taillefer, Count of Provence, or Toulouse. She brought in her train the troubadours, who charmed the court of Aquitaine with their verses; but these men were displeasing to the northern French, who were shocked at the elegance and dandyism of these Provençaux minstrels. A writer of that age, Raoul Glaber, thus describes them:—"As soon as the new queen appeared at the court, France was over-run by a set of the most vain and frivolous of men. Their way of living, their dress, their armour, the harness of their horses were equally strange; their hair and beard were closely clipped; their *hauts de chausses* and ridiculously pointed boots, turned back like a beak, and indeed their whole appearance was fantastic and effeminate; men with-

out faith, without law, and without modesty, whose contagious example spread and infected the hitherto simple manners of the French nation."

The feeling of antipathy between the mixed population of the south and the German elements of the nations of the north was long perceptible. The atrocious cruelty of the crusade against the Albigenses may be traced to this old prejudice, which even long after still subsisted.

There is much in the character of Robert which resembles that of the English Edward the Confessor. Robert was more of the monk than the king; he passed his time in chaunting litanies or amongst the poor. One day he was at supper at Etampes, in a castle which Constance had just built: he ordered the doors to be opened for the poor to enter; one of them threw himself at the feet of the king, who gave food to the mendicant under the table, with his own royal hand. The fellow took the opportunity of being unseen to cut off an ornament of gold, weighing six ounces, which hung from the king's knee, and hastened away with it. When Robert rose from the table, the queen saw that her husband had been despoiled, and she cried indignantly: "What an enemy of God! Good Lord! thus to dishonour thy robe of gold!" "No one has shown me dishonour," replied the king; "the gold was more necessary to him than to me, and, God willing, will be of use to him." Another robber cut away half the gold fringe of his mantle, to which the king said: "Go thy way, go thy way; content thyself with what thou hast, another may require the rest." On another occasion the queen had ornamented his lance with bandelets of silver, when Robert took it up he at once glanced round to see if there were any poor near him, and seeing one sitting in rags, he called the man to come towards him; he then asked if he had any instrument with which to take off the silver from the lance. The man fetched what the king required as fast as he could, and between them both the lance was soon deprived of its costly ornaments. The queen was very angry, but could not learn from Robert how it was, or by whom the lance had been robbed of its silver decorations.

The Italians offered the crown of Italy to Robert, when they wished to throw off German rule; he refused it. He also rejected the proposal of the nobles of Lorraine to recognize him as their suzerain. But after a war of five years he acquired the duchy of Burgundy (1016). The royal house thus became possessed of two of the great fiefs, the duchies of France and of Burgundy.

The first execution of heretics in France took place in this reign ; thirteen unhappy beings were burned at Orleans (1022). Other executions occurred at Toulouse and elsewhere. This cruel spirit of persecution soon grew dominant, yet in its aberration evinced an awakening of the intelligence. Thoughts began to quicken, and the first renaissance dates from the eleventh century. The Jews, as well as the unorthodox, fell in for a large share of persecution during the whole of the Middle Ages ; as they could not possess land they amassed gold ; continually driven away, or tolerated at the caprice of the Christians, they were pillaged, fined, and tortured without conscience or scruple. At Toulouse, on Easter Sunday, a Jew was obliged to present himself before the Church to receive a box on the ear. The right to inflict the cuff was an honour conferred by the bishop. In 1018 a viscount of Rochechouart dealt the blow with such effect that he killed the Jew. The result of this ignorant and unchristian spirit developed vices in the persecuted people, which in the end justified the contempt and dislike which they inspired.

DEATH OF ROBERT.

The good Robert died at Melun (1031) at the age of seventy, and was buried at St. Denis. His eldest son, Hugh, had died before him. The younger sons, Henry and Robert, had troubled his latter years with their disputes. The elder, Henry, had been crowned (1027), but on the death of the king, Robert, seconded by the Counts of Champagne and Anjou, and by his mother, Constance, forced Henry, who had asked the aid of Robert of Normandy, to put his brother Robert in possession of the duchy of Burgundy, retaining for himself the duchy of France, with the title of king. From Robert the Capetian dukes of Burgundy took their rise.

HENRY I. (A.D. 1031—1060).

Henry made some concessions to the Duke of Normandy in acknowledgment for his assistance. This duke was Robert the Devil, so called by the people, or the Magnificent, as he was surnamed by his nobles. It was popularly believed that he had poisoned his own brother, Richard III., and all his chief barons, at a banquet, and crushing all resistance, made himself master of Normandy. He supported the king, Henry, against his brother.

and received a part of Normandy, called the Vex, in return. He endeavoured, also, to drive Canute the Great from the throne of England, and put his cousins, the sons of Ethelred, in his place; but a tempest drove back his fleet on to the coast of Brittany, which he invaded instead of England, obliging Alain, Duke of Brittany, to do him homage (1033). Two years after he made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died in Asia Minor, on his way homewards; the son of Robert the Devil was our William the Conqueror. The king, Henry, soon finding the young duke rather too powerful a neighbour, allied himself with all the enemies of



William, and invaded Normandy, aided by the Count of Anjou, but they had to retire, being worsted in several encounters.

In order to diminish the sufferings and disorders occasioned by the constant state of feud between the nobles, the Church proposed to several of the princes to agree that, from Wednesday night until Monday morning of every week, on all festivals of the Church, and throughout Lent, all kind of warfare and brigandage should be interdicted. This compact was called the "Truce of God," and being gradually adopted in all Christian countries, established some slight degree of order, which, as the royal power became dominant, was more fully carried out. The

thirty years of Henry's reign have been almost passed over in silence by the writers of the period. He married Anne, a Russian princess, descended through her mother, a daughter of the emperor, Romanus II., from Philip of Macedon. Their eldest son bore the name of the father of Alexander.

PHILIP I. (1080—1106).

Philip was consecrated king at Reims before his father's death, and was only seven years old when he succeeded to the throne. Philip was as *fainéant* as his father; but, independently of the first Capetian kings, the dukes of Normandy made themselves kings of England. A Capetian of the House of Burgundy founded the kingdom of Portugal, and the son of a poor gentleman of the Cotentin, Tancred de Hauteville, conquered Southern Italy, and formed the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Under the iron rule of the first dukes of Normandy the spirit of adventure and of gain, inherent in the descendants of Rollo and of Hastings, induced many of the Normans to set out as pilgrims, several together, well armed and mounted, to some distant shrine, as the Holy Sepulchre, St. James of Compostella, in Spain, or Monte Cassino, near Naples. These pilgrimages were their only escape from the tame life within their castle or manor, besides, there were many chances of gain, either by the sale of relics or by their swords, for they were not over scrupulous. It was as pilgrims that the Normans first found their way to Southern Italy. At that time the Lombards were settled in the mountains, and the Greeks in the ports. About the year 1000 some of the Norman pilgrims aided the inhabitants of Salerno to drive away the Saracens of Sicily and Africa, who infested the coast, and the Greeks of Naples established them at Aversa, to keep off the Lombards of Capua. The sons of Tancred, hearing that a simple Norman knight had become Count of Aversa, set out towards Italy without money, trusting to their swords to pay the expenses of their journey. They fought against the Saracens to defend the Greeks, but as soon as their compatriots had arrived in sufficient number, the Normans, though only a few hundreds, dispersed a multitude of Greeks and Italians who had armed against them, and managed to oblige the German pope, Leon IX., whom they had taken prisoner, to give them, as fief of the Church, all they should gain in Southern Italy.

The conquest of this territory was completed by Robert Guis-

card. Roger, a younger brother, passed into Sicily, and took it from the Arabs, after the most romantic adventures; a descendant of Roger united Southern Italy to his Insular States, and formed the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. This feudal kingdom in the midst of ancient Greek cities, full of the memories of the Odyssey, was a real benefit for Italy. The Mahometans dared no longer to infest the coasts for many centuries, and the Greeks, or Byzantines, returned to the Eastern empire, which was more than once invaded by Robert Guiscard and his successors. The Italian popes shut their eyes to the brigandage of the Normans, and united with them against both Greek and German emperors. The extraordinary fortune of simple Norman gentlemen was followed by the Norman invasion of England. The kingdom of Portugal was also founded by Henry, fourth son of the Capetian Duke of Burgundy, who, with Raymond, Count of Toulouse, fought under the standard of Alphonsus VI., the King of Castile, against the Saracens. Both married daughters of Alphonsus, and Henry succeeded in wresting a large territory from the infidels, and established the independence of Portugal and the royal House of Braganza. Philip I. allowed all these great things to be accomplished without taking any part in them; jealous, however, of his too powerful vassal, he took part with Robert, the eldest son of William the Conqueror, who had revolted against his father, and it was when ravaging with fire and sword the domains of the French king, that William met with the accident at Mantes which caused his death.

Philip married (1071) Bertha of Holland, mother of Louis VI. Twenty years later (1092) Philip, who had shut up Bertha in the castle of Montreuil-sur-Mer, married the Countess Bertrade de Montfort, a beautiful but ambitious person. The Church condemned this second marriage as unlawful, and Philip was excommunicated, both at the Council of Autun and again at the Council of Clermont (Puy-de-Dôme), held by the pope, Urban II. But the great feature of the Council of Clermont was the preaching of the first Crusade (1095).

A great movement of religious reform was given by Pope Gregory VII. in the eleventh century. The Church had grown too rich; many of its members forgot that their possessions ought to be held only in trust for the poor, instead of which they lived like feudal lords. Discipline became necessarily lax, and it seemed likely that the offices in the Church were to be considered hereditary, as the fiefs of the State had become. The

nobles, therefore, flocked into the Church. "The sanctuaries," says a writer of that time, "no longer resounded with the chaunting of psalms to the praises of God, but to the clash of arms and the baying of packs of hounds." Hildebrand, long a monk at the monastery of Cluny, in France, who had become pope under the name of Gregory VII. (1073), endeavoured to stop these scandals by enforcing the true spirit of Christ's Church—abnegation and humility; thus regenerate, the aim of Hildebrand was to place the spiritual above the temporal power, and that the sovereign pontiffs, and not laics, should confer not only the spiritual consecration upon a bishop, but also the investiture of the lands belonging to his bishopric or benefice. This led to great opposition. Philip I. of France submitted, but Henry IV., Emperor of Germany, was less docile, and Europe was soon shaken throughout by this terrible struggle between the sacerdotal power and the empire. Cited to appear at Rome, Henry, on the contrary, convoked a synod at Worms, near the Rhine, at which the election of Gregory was declared irregular. The pontiff, in another synod, launched the thunderbolt of excommunication against Henry, and declared him unworthy of the throne. In this case the spiritual anathema of the successor of St. Peter brought the emperor to submission, and the powerful sovereign of Germany waited three days, in January, 1077, fasting and with naked feet, upon the snow in the court of the château of Canossa, near the lake of Garda, where the pope was staying, to receive his absolution. But the war was not ended; the anti-pope, Clement III., was favoured by Henry, and the army of the Countess Matilda, a powerful ally of Gregory, was defeated by the German emperor, who penetrated to Rome. Gregory sought refuge in the castle of St. Angelo, and was liberated by Robert Guiscard. The high-minded but inflexible Gregory retired to Salerno, where he died, exclaiming, "I have loved justice, I have fled iniquity, therefore, I thus die in exile." The Church, notwithstanding, had grown in power, and was enabled to accomplish the most considerable event of the Middle Ages, "to change pilgrimages into the Crusades."

CHAPTER XXVI

CRUSADES.—CHIVALRY.

PILGRIMAGES, since the memorable year 1000, had begun the great religious movement which developed into the Crusades. When the apprehension that the world was to be destroyed in that date had passed, and hope once more began to revive, a crowd of pilgrims seized their staff and wended their way, some to the shrine of the Holy Apostles of Rome, and from thence to Jerusalem. It was a long and painful journey for the bare-footed pilgrims. Happy those who returned. Still happier those who died near the tomb of their Saviour, and who were able to exclaim, in the audacious, yet fervent, words of the period: "Lord, Thou died for me. I now die for Thee." Among these pilgrims to Jerusalem there was a poor monk named Peter the Hermit. This man was a native of Amiens, and had for some time lived a solitary life under the dress of the monk. The people were accustomed to surround him, and to express their admiration of his sanctity in every possible manner, believing there was something almost divine in the simple and self-denying hermit. They used to pluck the hairs from off the mule he rode, and kept them as relics. Peter wore only a woollen tunic, and over it a mantle of coarse serge; he ate scarcely any bread, contenting himself with a little fish and sour wine. He was inflamed with an ardent zeal, and spoke with eloquence of the indignities heaped upon the Christians who attempted to visit the Holy Sepulchre, especially since Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of a savage horde of Turks, instead of the more tolerant caliphs of Bagdad and Cairo. Immediately after the preaching of the Crusade at the Council of Clermont (1095), the number of those who enlisted themselves as soldiers of the Cross, and attached upon their breast, as sign of the saintly engagement they had formed, a cross of red cloth, amounted in less than a couple of years to more than one million. The Church placed them under the protection of the "Truce of God," and accorded several privileges to the estates of the crusaders during their absence.

(A.D. 1096.) The enthusiasm became general; not only in France but from distant countries people thronged to the ports and when they were unable to express their wishes so as to be understood, they placed their fore-fingers cross-wise, as a sign of their intention to join in the holy war. The rich, suddenly inspired with a distaste for all they had before prized—their castles, their

families, their possessions—hastened to leave everything behind. The poorer men, with equal enthusiasm, would pack up the little they possessed, and shoeing their oxen like horses, would harness them to chariots, and set out on their long journey, taking with them their wives and children, and at every town or castle they approached these little ones would shout out in their simplicity : “Is not that Jerusalem ?”

Besides these there was a multitude of that lowest class of the population, who, having nothing to lose, always throw themselves gladly into any new movement. This ignorant and disorderly mass spread in all directions, asking to be led towards Jerusalem, and began their unruly course by massacring all the Jews they met with on the road. They left, at length, under the guidance of Peter the Hermit and a Norman knight named Gaultier-sans-Argent—the Penniless. But during the long route across Europe, along the banks of the Danube, the excesses committed by these undisciplined soldiers, this army without baggage, were deplorable. In Bavaria, in Hungary, in Bulgaria, and the Greek empire, they were opposed by the population, and had to fight continually, so that this formidable mass melted away to an inconsiderable force easily exterminated by the Turks.

The true army of the Crusaders was composed of the flower of the nobility and of chivalry ; each noble was accompanied by a certain number of peasants or of serfs, so that the number of fighting men who left for the East during that year amounted to 300,000. The first to set out was Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lower Lorraine, who, towards the 13th of August, 1096, had already made all his preparations. His castle of Bouillon, near Sedan, he leased to the Bishop of Liège for 700 marks of silver, in order to uphold his rank befittingly ; whilst his character for wisdom, for bravery, and for virtue attracted all the crusaders from Belgium and Lower Lorraine to his standard. Godfrey was considered the chief of this first expedition, his name and character eclipsing all others. He belonged to both nations and spoke both languages. He was not of high stature, his brother-Baudouin being a head taller, but he was of prodigious strength. It was reported that with one blow of his sword he cut through a knight on horseback, from his head to the saddle ; with a back-stroke he would take off the head of an ox or a camel ; and when he found a soldier in a cave who had been attacked by a bear, he drew the fury of the animal upon himself and killed it, though he suffered long after from the severe wounds he received. The

motto of Bayard might worthily have been adopted by the noble Godfrey: "Sans peur, sans reproche."

Besides Godfrey and his brothers, Baudouin and Eustache de Boulogne, there were two other Baudouin, one, the Count of St. Pal (Pas de Calais), the other, a son of the Count de Rethel (Ardennes), and a great number of independent nobles and knights. This first army followed upon the traces of Peter the Hermit; through Germany and Hungary, but the noble chief maintained strict discipline, and everywhere made the crusaders under his standard respected; he appeased the resentment of the people of Hungary and Bulgaria, and arrived in time at Philippolis to liberate other crusaders, who had been imprisoned by the Greeks. These belonged to the second army, which had left under the guidance of Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy, who, with the Counts of Blois, of Flanders and of Vermandois, joined the Normans of Italy, led by Bohemond, prince of Tarentum, and his cousin Tancred—the latter being, after Godfrey of Bouillon, the most perfect knight of the age—and altogether they crossed the Adriatic, to Greece and Macedonia.

Raymond de St. Gilles, the rich and powerful Earl of Toulouse, gathered under his banner all the crusaders of the South of France. With him were Adhemar, Bishop of Puy, legate of the Holy See, and spiritual head of the crusade, besides the counts of Béarn, of Roussillon, of Orange, of Forez, the Lord of Montpellier, and the Sire of Albert, and Raymond IV., viscount of Turenne. He took his army across the Alps, through Dalmatia and Sclavonia, to Thrace.

THE CRUSADERS AT CONSTANTINOPLE, A.D. 1097.

The general rendezvous was at Constantinople. The emperor feared they might begin by taking the city. Some of them, in fact, were inclined to do so, and put an end to the perfidies of the cowardly Byzantines, but Godfrey opposed the plan; he even offered homage to Alexis Comnenus for the lands he should conquer. As he was taking the oath of allegiance with the other leaders of the army, one of them, a count of high degree, seated himself upon the imperial throne. The emperor said nothing, as he knew the temper of the Frank, but Count Baudouin made the insolent intruder descend, saying, it was contrary to custom thus to seat himself by the side of an empress. The other, looking angrily at the emperor, muttered in his own tongue, "Look at that rustic seated, whilst brave knights and captains have to

stand." The emperor asked to have the words translated, and when the counts had retired, he took the haughty noble aside, and asked him who he was.

"I am a Frank, and of the noblest. In my own country there is an old church on a spot where three roads meet; there, whenever a knight has an adversary, and wishes to fight him, he goes to pray and to wait for him. I waited there in vain—no one dared to meet me."

The Emperor Alexis was not reassured until the last of these doughty warriors had passed over into Asia.

The first town to which they came was Nicæa, and after thirty-five days they were on the point of taking it, when they saw the Greek standard floating on the walls. Whilst crossing the central deserts of Asia Minor, the crusaders underwent great sufferings. Light squadrons of Turks constantly hung upon their march, carrying off the stragglers and sick, and preventing any of them from seeking water or forage. When the Turks thought them sufficiently discouraged and harassed, an immense number of cavalry attacked them in the plains of Phrygia. The result of the action was uncertain until the arrival of Godfrey de Bouillon with a large force of cavalry, who put the Turks to flight.

Fresh sufferings awaited the soldiers of the Cross, as they passed over the Taurus, to descend into Syria. At last they reached the strongly-fortified town of Antioch, October 18th, 1097, garrisoned by 20,000 men. The crusaders, already reduced to 300,000 soldiers, remained seven months before the place. Bohemond, Prince of Tarentum, and eldest son of Robert Guiscard, and cousin of Tancred, induced an emir to deliver over to him three of the 450 towers which defended the walls. During one stormy night, whilst the noise of the wind and the reverberation of the thunder deafened the sentinels, the Christians scaled the walls by means of rope ladders thrown down to them, and thus shouting, "*Dieu le veut*," "God's will," put to death 10,000 of the inhabitants. Before the whole army of crusaders was allowed to enter, the Norman Bohemond stipulated that Antioch was to be his, as he first took possession of it, A.D. 1098. They were not left to enjoy their conquest very long. Besieged in their turn by an immense army commanded by the Caliph of Bagdad, they soon were decimated by the effects of plague and famine. Many of the crusaders, despairing of ever reaching Jerusalem, left for Europe—the more courageous remained. A priest of Marseilles, named Peter Barthélemy, declared that

during his sleep St. Anthony revealed to him that the lance which had pierced the side of Christ was hidden under the high altar of the church, and that it would give the victory to the Christians. The search was made, and the lance was found. The whole army, fired with enthusiasm, marched against the army of the caliph, and cut it to pieces.

FALL OF JERUSALEM, A.D. 1099.

The crusaders lost six months longer in Antioch, where the plague was raging; but at last, towards the end of May, the crusaders began their march towards Palestine. The inhabitants of Phœnicia had finished their harvest, and the Christians found provisions everywhere. On their left rose the mountains of Lebanon; between the mountains and the sea the land was covered with olive trees, which grew to the height of elms and oaks; in the plains and on the hills grew orange trees and pomegranates, and many other trees and fruits unknown in the West. Among them one plant attracted the notice of the pilgrims, the juice of which was sweeter than honey: this plant was the sugarcane. Towards the end of the crusades, it was transplanted into Italy and Sicily, whilst the Saracens introduced it into the kingdom of Grenada, whence the Spaniards conveyed it to Madeira and the American colonies.

The army now numbered hardly more than 50,000, but they were men nerved against every trial and suffering. They kept near the coast of the Mediterranean, in order to draw provisions from the fleets of Genoa, Pisa, and Flanders. When at Laodicæa the Christian army received a reinforcement of new crusaders from the ports of Holland, Flanders, and the British isles. Among the new defenders of the Cross was Edgar Atheling, the true hero of the English crown, and who had come out with the hope of avoiding the sight of the misfortunes of his country, and to seek a refuge from the tyranny of the conqueror. The enthusiasm of the crusaders increased as they approached the holy city, and traversed the spots consecrated by the life of Christ and of the apostles. At length, on the summit of the last hill, Jerusalem was visible. "O good Jesus!" exclaimed a monk who was in the army. When the Christians saw the holy city, what tears were shed! Cries burst forth, "Jerusalem! Jerusalem!—God's will! God's will!" With outstretched arms they threw themselves upon the ground, and embraced the earth.

It was at the break of day, on the 10th of June, 1099, that

the crusaders ascended the heights of Emmaus, and first beheld Jerusalem "the holy," so called alike by Jew, Turk, infidel and Christian. From the highest antiquity, Jerusalem yielded in magnificence to none of the cities of Asia. Jeremiah names it "the most admirable city;" David calls it "the most glorious and most illustrious city of the East;" it was also one of the strongest places in Asia. Destroyed by Titus, the Emperor Adrian demolished even its ruins, and caused another city to be built, giving it the name of *Aëlia*. Paganism there exalted its idols, and Jupiter and Venus had altars upon the tomb of Jesus Christ! The people of the East and of the West scarcely preserved the memory of the City of David, when Constantine restored its name to it, recalled the faithful within its walls, and made it a Christian city. Conquered afterwards by the Persians, and retaken by the Greeks, it had fallen a bloody prey into the hands of the Mussulmans, who despoiled the possession of it, and subjected it by turns to the double scourge of persecution and of war.

The city was now defended by the soldiers of the Fatamite Caliph of Cairo, who had recently taken it from the Turks. This caliph had offered the Christians, when they were in Antioch, to enter Jerusalem unarmed, a permission they scornfully rejected. They wished the city to be theirs, and at the price of



THE CRUSADE.

their own blood. Their sufferings were great when encamped around the walls. The earth was calcined by the scorching sun of an Asiatic summer; the air, laden with the sands of the desert,

was suffocating. The torrent of Kedron was dry, and all the cisterns had been filled up, or poisoned. The soldiers turned up the soil with their swords, eagerly carrying to their lips every moist clod they met with, and every morning they would press their parched lips to stone or marble on which a slight covering of dew was left. The intense heat, and scarcity of water, made them forget the horrors of the famine which seemed to pursue the Christians everywhere.

The Duke of Normandy, the Count of Flanders, and Tancred, encamped towards the north, from the gate of Herod to that of St. Stephen. Near to the Flemings, the Normans, and the Italians, were placed the English, commanded by Edgar Atheling, and the Bretons, under their Duke Alain Ferzent. Godfrey, Eustace, and Baldwin du Bourg established their quarters between the west and the north, around the enclosure of Calvary, from the gate of Damascus to the gate of Jaffa (these were the quarters from whence Titus, when the Romans besieged Jerusalem, first began his attacks against the city). The Count of Toulouse placed his camp to the right of Godfrey, between the south and the west, and near him were Raimbaud of Orange, William of Montpellier, and Gaston of Béarn.

Although the Christians had so much to suffer from the heat of the climate and thirst, the hope of soon seeing the end of their troubles gave them strength to support them, and to hasten their preparations for attack. A solitary, who lived in the Mount of Olives, advised the Crusaders to march round Jerusalem as the Hebrews had marched round Jericho. They prepared for it by a rigorous fast of three days, then "barefooted and bareheaded they left their quarters armed, and set out from the valley of Rephram, which faces Calvary, and when they had assembled on the spot from whence Christ ascended into heaven, they listened to the exhortations of their priests and bishops, conjuring them to redouble their zeal and perseverance, to forget all injuries, and to love one another. Towards evening they returned to their quarters, repeating these words of the prophet, "The nations of the West shall fear the Lord, and the nations of the East shall see His glory."

Whilst these things were passing in the Christian camp, the most profound silence reigned over the walls of Jerusalem; nothing was heard but the voices of the men who from hour to hour, from the tops of the mosques of the city, called the Mussulmans to prayer. In crowds the infidels flocked to their temples to implore the protection of their prophet, and swore by the mys-

terious stone of Jacob to defend a city which they called the "House of God." Both besieged and besiegers were equally desirous to fight, and to shed their blood for the possession of the sacred city.

On Thursday, the 14th July, 1099, at break of day, the clari-sons sounded in the camp of the Christians, and all flew to arms. The combat lasted twelve hours, when night put a temporary end to the conflict. The following day the struggle recommenced; javelins hissed on all sides, whilst stones and beams, launched both by Christians and infidels, dashed against each other in the air with a frightful noise, and fell back upon the assailants. From the heights of the towers the Mussulmans hurled lighted torches and fire-pots. Amidst the conflagration of the wooden fortresses the Christians approached the walls. The tower of Godfrey, surmounted by a burnished cross of gold, especially provoked the fury of the besieged. The Duke of Lorraine himself, though a mark for all the arrows of the enemy, fought on amidst the dead and dying with unabated ardour; the Count of Toulouse had to contend on the south side against the Emir of Jerusalem and the *élite* of the Egyptian soldiers. The noble Tancred and the two Roberts stood motionless at the head of their battalions, waiting for the moment to employ the lance and sword. The day was half spent, the machines were on fire; there was no water, more particularly vinegar, which alone would quench the species of fire employed by the besieged. In vain the bravest exposed themselves to prevent the destruction of the rams and wooden towers; they fell beneath the ruins, and the discouragement became general. The Saracens uttered cries of joy, and reproached the Christians with worshipping a God who was not able to defend them.

All at once the Crusaders saw a knight appear upon the Mount of Olives, waving his buckler, and giving the Christian army the signal for entering the city. Godfrey and Raymond cried out aloud that St. George was come to the help of the Christians! The sight of the celestial horseman revived the flagging efforts of the besiegers; women, even children and the sick, mingled in the *mêlée*, bringing water, food, and arms, and aiding the soldiers to push forward the rolling towers nearer the ramparts. That of Godfrey lowered its drawbridge upon the walls, in spite of a terrible discharge of Greek fire, of stones and arrows. Flaming darts were hurled against the wooden machines of the besieged, and set fire to the sacks of straw, hay, and of wool which protected the last walls of the city. The Saracens,

enveloped in masses of smoke and flame, retreated before the lances and swords of the Crusaders. Godfrey and Tancred, with their companions, some preceding, others following, threw themselves into the place, and Jerusalem resounded with the shouts of "*Dieu le veut.*" Despair, however, for a moment forced the bravest of the Saracens to rally, but Everard de Pusaic, and some other knights and more, spread terror amongst the infidels. History has remarked that the Christians entered Jerusalem on a Friday, at the hour of three in the afternoon, the same day and hour on which Christ had died for the salvation of the human race.

Jerusalem contained no place of refuge for the vanquished, and when the Crusaders reached the Mosque of Omar the carnage equalled that which attended the conquest of Titus. Horse and foot entered pell-mell with the vanquished. To paint the terrible spectacle which was presented at the two periods in the same place, we will borrow the words of Josephus:—"The number of the slain by far surpassed that of the soldiers who immolated them to their vengeance, and the mountains near the Jordan in moans re-echoed the frightful sounds that issued from the Temple."

The pious Godfrey, who had abstained from carnage after the victory, repaired without arms, and barefooted, to the church of the Holy Sepulchre, with only three attendants. When this act of devotion became known, the Crusaders cast away their blood-stained garments, and nothing was heard in the holy city but hymns of penitence. The pious fervour of the Christians only suspended the carnage; the rumoured approach of an Egyptian army closed their hearts against pity. Three hundred Saracens were immolated on the day after the conquest, in spite of the prayers of Tancred, who had sent them his standard as a safeguard. The city of Jerusalem soon presented a new spectacle, for in the course of a few days it had changed its inhabitants, laws, and religion. The victory enriched the greater part of the Crusaders, but that which they looked upon as the most precious acquisition was what was supposed to be the true cross. The Christians had concealed it during the siege; it was borne in triumph through the streets of Jerusalem, and replaced in the church of the Resurrection.

Ten days after their victory the Crusaders were intent on restoring the throne of David and Solomon, and in placing upon it a leader capable of maintaining a conquest which the Christians had bought at the price of so much suffering and bloodshed.

Amongst the foremost leaders worthy of the honour were Godfrey de Bouillon, Duke of Lorraine; Raymond de St. Gilles, Count of Toulouse; Robert of Normandy, and Tancred, but Tancred placed the title of knight far above that of king; Robert also, who had leased his dukedom to his wily brother the King of England to become a Crusader, had evinced more bravery than ambition, as he might have had the suffrages of his companions had he wished. The Count of Toulouse, from his obstinate and ambitious character, was not popular, being more feared than beloved. Godfrey appeared to have the majority of the army and people in his favour, and he was accordingly proclaimed king; but he refused the diadem and insignia of royalty, saying he would never accept a crown of gold in a city in which the Saviour of the world had been crowned with thorns. He chose the modest title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre. The battle of Ascalon, which he gained shortly after over the Egyptian army, which had come to retake Jerusalem, assured the conquest of the Crusaders. But already the Christians were weary of the sacrifices they had made, and ardently wished to see once more their homes and families; and soon there remained but 300 knights with Godfrey and Tancred. These with saddened hearts exclaimed, "Forget not those whom you leave behind in exile." Fifty years, however, elapsed before a new Crusade was undertaken to help the Christians of Palestine. Godfrey de Bouillon, left to himself, organized as well as he was able his little kingdom of Jerusalem, in which a strange mixture of feudal institutions and Biblical names is to be found; a union of religious faith and military fiefdoms which characterized the mediæval ages in Europe.

This great movement of the Crusades continued for more than a century and a half. It began in France, and at length drew within its influence all the nations of Europe. The first Crusade was entirely French and Norman; the second (1147), was French and German; the third (1190), brought foremost the English element; the fourth (1203), the Venetians; the fifth (1217), and the sixth were unimportant; the seventh (1248) and the eighth (1270) were again French. In the East all Christians are still termed Franks.

The Crusades did not attain their end, for Jerusalem fell again into the hands of the infidels; but the moral influence brought to bear upon the minds of men in the countries from whence the Crusaders started wrought an immense change. Before the Crusades each man lived apart, and almost as an enemy of his neigh-

bour; the Crusades diminished this spirit of reclusion and repulsion. During the long and perilous journey through distant countries, amidst people of another faith, the Crusaders felt themselves to be brothers in Christ. In the partition of the immense armies into nationalities, the soldiers of one country felt themselves to be children of the same native land. The French of the north and the Provençal of the south were drawn together, and the ties of nationality, lost since the time of Rome, and only weakly felt under Charlemagne, regained all their force on the road to Jerusalem. Furthermore the *trouvères* and the *troubadours* began to sing, at least in knightly circles, of home-lands and of homes. In antique cities the head of the family lived out of his house, in the forum or in the fields. He hardly knew his family, and had the right over his wife and children of life and death. The first race of barbarians who settled in the West had the Eastern habit of polygamy, which prevented the possibility of establishing the family on a proper basis; but feudal society, acted upon by Christianity, first developed the home and the family. Living in his solitary castle, or dwelling, perched upon the mountain-top, like an eagle's nest, the father, when within its walls, found nothing so companionable as his children and their mother.

The effects of the Crusades upon industry and commerce were also most important, for they opened the way between the West and the East, so long closed to commerce. Industry also was awakened to furnish the necessary arms, harness, and vestments for so many pilgrim soldiers, and the movement, having once begun, did not stop. Thus, having got their hand into their work, the artisans and the vendors multiplied, and formed themselves into corporations for mutual support and protection. Little by little they began to accumulate money, and a new element of strength was thus developed by the work of the arms and of the intelligence, which rose up side by side with the great nobles, possessors of the soil.

The eleventh century was an important epoch for history; it was a period in which society took a new form. All that was truly noble, heroic and vigorous, distinguishing the Middle Ages from the preceding age, was developed. The feudal system, which at its rise was a system of liberty and not of oppression, taught loyalty towards others, as well as respect for an oath and for reciprocal duties and engagements. These qualities gave rise to chivalry, or the devotion of the strong to the service and defence of the weak. The knights displayed their dexterity in the

tournaments; their domestic education created courtesy. Language, instead of a barbarous *patois*, became refined and supple. Commerce united all parts of the country. The lower orders gained independence with riches; the citizen gained liberty, and showed that he was ready to fight for it with arms in his hand. Again, with the rise of chivalric sentiments, poetry began, or more justly, we must say, it was revived under new circumstances and forms:

From the age of seven years the future knight was taken from the hands of female relatives or attendants, and confided to the care of some valiant baron, capable of giving the boy an example of knightly virtue. Until the age of fourteen he accompanied the châtelain and the châtelaine as page or varlet, *damoiseau* or *damoiselet*. He went with them to the chase, or followed the palfrey of the lady of the castle or carried her letters. At the same time he learnt falconry, to wield the lance and the sword, and hardened himself by incessant exercises to encounter the fatigues of war, and the necessary physical force to wear the heavy armour of that period. During the long winter evenings, the deeds of valour of some famous knight were related in the great hall, or at times a wandering minstrel or troubadour would repay the hospitality of the baron by some canzone in honour of the paladins of Arthur or of Charlemagne; thus an ideal was early fixed in the mind of the future knight, which some day he hoped to realize.

At fifteen the page became "esquire." As religion and war were dominant in that age, they united to consecrate the initiation of the young esquire. On quitting childhood the youth was led to the altar, the Church undertaking his religious training, whilst his physical education was continued by still more violent exercises: covered with heavy armour, he would leap over moats and barriers, climb walls, and his imagination was fired with the legends of heroic deeds, because inspired with the love of adventure and of Christian precepts. We can understand how the saintly and magnanimous souls of a Godfrey, a Tancred, or a Louis IX. were formed. At seventeen the youthful esquire left the sheltering walls of the castle, often for distant expeditions. A ring suspended on his arm or leg announced a vow to accomplish some brilliant act of prowess before receiving the order of knighthood.

At last, when he had attained the age of twenty-one, and appeared worthy by his valour and purity of heart to be enrolled a knight, he prepared himself by symbolical ceremonies. The bath, sign of the purity of the body and the soul; the vigils

in a church in armour ; the confession often made aloud ; lastly, Holy Communion preceded the reception of the young knight. Clad in vestments of pure white linen, a further sign of moral purity, he was led by two *prud'hommes*, tried knights, who acted as his sponsors in arms. The Mass was sung, and the sword blessed, and the noble, who was to arm the young knight, struck him with the flat of the blade upon the shoulder, saying, "I dub thee knight in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." The newly-made knight then had to swear to devote his arms to the defence of the weak and the oppressed ; and lastly, his sword was buckled on and his gilt spurs, and he was saluted as knight.

The degradation of a knight was something terrible : he was mounted on a scaffold, his armour broken, his *ecu*, the blazon effaced, attached to the tail of a *cavale* ; the clergy pronounced the malediction of the 108th Psalm over him. He was then



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drawn down by a cord from the scaffold and transported to the church covered up in a cerecloth, and the assistant clergy read the prayers of the dead over him.

Surnames and armorial bearings were adopted after the Crusades, and the surname soon became the family name, hitherto, the baptismal name; of which there were few, so that to distinguish one man of the same name from another, the name of the lands he possessed was added. The commoner people were designated after some moral or physical quality ; as, *le fort*, the strong, *le bon*, the good, or by their trade, as, smith, &c.

The Crusades also gave rise to the military order of Hospitallers, founded 1100 by a Provençal, Gérard de Martigues,

known later on as Knights of Rhodes and of Malta. The order of Knights Templars, instituted 1118 by Hugh de Payens, was an imitation. If a knight took the title of Don, of Sire or Mesire, and of Monseigneur, he could eat at the table of the king, They alone could carry the lance and wear the hauberk, the double coat of mail, with velvet, gold, scarlet, ermine, and other rich furs. Each country, and even each great family, had its war cry. The French shouted, "Mountjoie et St. Denis;" the Spaniards, "St. Jacques;" the English, "Dieu et mon droit," also, "St. George and merry England;" the Counts of Blois and of Chartres adopted as their cry, "Notre Dame de Chartres;" the Counts of Champagne, "Passe en avant;" the Dukes of Burgundy, "St. Andrew;" the Dukes of Montmorency, "Dieu aide au premier Chrétien." Simple gentlemen, esquires, and pages cried, "Ablo! ablo!" an old word, which signified, *à nous*, firm courage. The science of blazonry was introduced by the Arabs of Spain, and adopted by the French and Germans. In the midst of a multitude of knights, all alike enveloped in armour, it was necessary to have some distinguishing sign. The cross entered largely into the first armorial bearings; these were painted upon the ecu or buckler in bright colours, six only being allowed, yellow and white, or and *argent*, blue or *azure*, green and red, or *gueulles*, said to be derived from an Arab word, *gul*, a rose, lastly, sable or black. The armorial bearings of towns were generally derived from emblems or things for which they were distinguished. The damp country of the Frieslanders bore on its shield the leaves of the water lily, on bands undulating like waves. The town of Bologna, whose waters were covered with swans, took one of these birds as its image; Paris has for its arms a vessel with sails spread. The word blason or blasen is German, and signifies to sound, or blow a blast on the horn, a ceremony used to draw the knights together, in order to recognize them by their armorial bearings.

The influence of the Crusades upon the centuries that followed was immense. They led to an extension of ideas, and produced more individual liberty, and at the same time, more political unity and the centralization of society. Many of the great discoveries which, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, did so much towards developing European civilization, were due to the East; as, the compass, gunpowder, and printing. But the greatest gain was the change wrought by the gradual transformation of the governments and peoples, which took the characteristics we call modern civilization.

To these results we must add : 1. The disappearance of a great number of fiefs, occasioned by the death in Palestine of the heirs male, and therefore the diminution of a notable number of petty tyrants. Many of the nobles, leaving for the Holy Land, sold at an almost nominal price their vast estates. These the sovereigns bought for a small sum in gold ; and the fiefs, which since 877, when hereditary rights had acquired the force of custom and had been recognized as legal, once more appertained to the crown, and united in the hands of the king the privileges of a thousand petty independent sovereigns.

2. The revival of the Roman law, brought from Constantinople into France, abolished the duel as a judicial proof, and established tribunals as the first-fruits of the Justinian Code.

3. Egypt and Constantinople were once more the sources of our knowledge ; Egypt for natural and exact sciences and for medicine, Constantinople for the arts.

4. The impulsion given to naval force and navigation.

5. The Crusades gave the signal for the enfranchisement of the people, and for the dawn of communal governments.

The day on which, without distinction of bondmen or of free, the great spoke of those who followed them as, "our poor," was the era of enfranchisement. The great movement of the Crusade, which had drawn the serf from his local servitude, had led him through Europe and Asia to Jerusalem, where he found his liberty. The trumpet of the archangel, which had been listened for in the year of our Lord 1000, was not heard until a century later, when the Crusade was preached. The village at the foot of the feudal tower, which cast its shadow around, was awakened from its lethargy. The pitiless baron, who never left his vulture's nest but to despoil his vassals, now armed them himself, and led them, living with them and suffering with them—common suffering softens the heart : and many a serf could say to his master, "Monseigneur, I gave up to thee the few drops of water I had found when we were both fainting in the desert, and I shielded thee with my own body at the siege of Antioch or of Jerusalem."

CHAPTER XXVII.

LOUIS THE SIXTH, THE FAT (A.D. 1108—1137).

THE reign of Philip I. had been one long anarchy; yet at his death, the country had made immense progress. The towns were more populous; there was more industry, more opulence; the idea of justice had developed. "The sire could no longer act independently towards his serf, seize his goods, keep him in prison, or even take his life, according to his good pleasure, without other judgment on his tyranny than that of God." Chivalry had inspired a nobler and more disinterested spirit. It was the prerogative of knighthood to uphold the feeble and the oppressed. The language had been formed and poetry had put forth blossoms.

Louis VI. took a more active share in the great events then passing than his father. Louis was about twenty-eight years of age on the death of Philip; but for seven years previously he had charge of the government, and his activity, contrasting with the inaptness and indifference of his father, earned for him the surname of the "Awakened" and of the "Warlike." When on the throne these qualities were incessantly called into action, either against his rival, the King of England, or his great nobles and vassals.

WAR WITH HIS VASSALS.

The royal domain had been much diminished since the time when Hugh Capet had united to it all the Duchy of France. Philip I. at his death held no more than the countships of Paris and Melun, of Orleans and Sens; the road even was not open to him between one town and the other. The strong castle of the Lord of Montlhéry was close by the road leading from Paris to Etampes, and between Paris and Melun the town of Corbeil, with its count, who aimed at forming a fourth royal dynasty. Again, between Paris and Orleans rose the castle of Puiset, which cost Louis VI. three years' fighting to conquer. Nearer Paris were the lords of Montmorency and of Dammartin; further west the counts of Montford, of Meulan, and of Mantes. All these nobles mercilessly pillaged the merchants and pilgrims returning towards the capital, notwithstanding the safe conduct of the king. "Beau fils," said Philip one day to his son, whilst pointing towards

the castle of Montlhéry at the gates of Paris, "guard well that tower, which I have grown old in combating and assailing."

As Duke of France, Louis VI. had powerful vassals in the North; as the counts of Ponthieu (Montreuil, and later Abbeville), Amiens, Soissons, Clermont in Beauvais, Valois, and Vermandois, the two latter being united in the hands of a brother of Philip I.

South of the Loire, Louis had bought the Viscomté of Bourges; and the other lords of Berry, amongst them the Sire de Bourbon (Moulins) paid him homage.

Around the royal domain extended vast feudal principalities, the possessors of which rivalled the king in riches and in power. North of the Somme were situated the territories of the Count of Flanders, vassal of the empire of Germany; Lorraine, a part of Burgundy, Frenche Comté, and Dauphiny, now also under the suzerainty of that empire. Provence, Languedoc, Guyenne, Auvergne, the Limousin, and Poitou were free states under dukes and counts who owned no suzerain, or who changed at will. West was the Duke of Normandy, and his turbulent vassal the Duke of Brittany, and lastly, south-west, the Duke of Anjou, who tendered homage to the king as Duke of France. The clergy occupied an important place in the feudal hierarchy. Its chiefs were dukes, counts, and lords, claiming all the rights exercised by other suzerains; thus, with the exception of five or six towns possessed by the king, the whole of France belonged entirely to lay or ecclesiastical lords—dukes and counts, bishops and abbots, lords bannerets, carrying banners, or simple knights, displaying only the pennon.

Feeble as was royalty opposed to all this, it possessed a moral force attached to it in the idea of national unity and public order. If it had not power it had rights, and only awaited a strong hand to regain its ancient ascendancy. Many of the great lords during the inert reign of Philip, had by their brigandage become the terror of the neighbourhood, and in their inaccessible fortresses defied all authority. The Abbé Suger, who from an obscure parentage, rose by his high administrative qualities to be the councillor of kings, said, "It is the duty of kings to repress the insolence of the great, who, by their eternal feuds, their brigandages against the poor and the churches, maintain the country in a state of anarchy." Louis VI. was the king that Suger demanded. Always on horseback, the lance in rest, he fought without respite against the nobles, assailing them within their fortresses, or robbers' dens, until at length he obtained some degree of se-

curity and order within his narrow domain of the Isle of France, the clerics and the merchants could pass on their way unmolested, and soon the feeble and oppressed gathered round the standard of Louis for protection.

ENFRANCHISEMENT OF THE COMMONS.

Hitherto two classes only had been recognized in society—the clerics who prayed, and the nobles who fought; then, immeasurably below them, were the serfs who worked, but who were not accounted as anything in the state. In the eighth century the serfs lived too near the period of the slavery of the ancients not to feel its influence; but two centuries later, each serf had his cabin sheltering his family, and a portion of ground around it. The home and family encouraged the spirit of association, and a cluster of these cabins formed the village. When there were sufficient means and hands for the work, a church was built; then came the parish. Some of these villages, owing to special circumstances, grew into towns, in which trade and manufacture brought wealth, and a more independent spirit. Thus, inspired by the example of the nobles who had annulled the authority of the king, as the vassals had done that of their lords, they sought to restrict the power of their masters over their lands and their persons.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

LOUIS VI. (CONTINUED).

LOUIS VI. rather encouraged this movement: he himself was struggling against the same enemy—feudalism; and looked upon the *commons* as his allies; he therefore gladly seconded their attempts to wrest certain concessions and privileges from the nobles, though, whilst favouring the creation of *communions*, or *commons*, within the possessions of his turbulent vassals, he did not suffer one to be formed upon his own domains.

As early as the year 997 the villeins of Normandy had concerted a general rising, for already the brotherhood of humanity was beginning to assert its rights. Their sentiments are thus touchingly expressed in the Roman de Rau (Rollo).—

“ Pourquoi nous laisser faire d’ommage ?
 Nous sommes hommes comme ils ont ;
 Des membres avons, comme ils ont ;
 Et de tout autant grands cœurs avons ;
 Et tout autant souffrir pouvons.”

Thus, in suffering and in largeness of heart and courage, they felt their kinship, and rose in arms to extort from their arrogant masters an acknowledgment of their birthright. But the plot was discovered, and the chiefs—surprised by the Count of Evreux and his knights—expiated amidst atrocious tortures the attempt. In 1024, there was a revolt of the peasantry of Brittany, but the insurrection was quenched in the blood of the *manants*. These cruelties succeeded for a while ; but a few years later the agitation re-commenced. This time it issued from within the walls of antique cities, or newly-constituted towns. The citizens were a far more formidable class to encounter : since the multiplication of baronial castles, the luxury which had been introduced created new wants, and thus encouraged industry and commerce. The brilliant armour of the knights, the splendid costumes of the ladies, the gorgeous ornaments of the castles and the churches gave an immense impetus to manufactures. The dominant class by its own luxury, therefore, gave into the hands of the citizens the means with which they were able to ruin the existing state of society. Whilst manufacturing the armour, thought to be suitable only for a special class, the armourer learnt its use, and felt himself not unworthy to try the metal he had welded with his own strength of sinew, aided by his intelligence. He, too, would have his tower or belfry in the public place, and, at the sound of the bell, each citizen swore to flock with arms in hand around it. Magistrates were elected to direct the movements of this troop. Each association of the commons had its treasure, or fund, and built ramparts, dug moats, and thus secured, demanded of the suzerain a charter of rights, offering a large sum for it, or, if refused, making armed resistance.

Amongst the first associations of the commons were those of the towns of Le Mans, 1070, Cambray (Flanders), 1076, Laon (Aisne), 1106, where the temporal lord was also a bishop, and in their struggle for communal liberty was assassinated, which led to terrible reprisals on the part of the nobles, and even of Louis, against the citizens. The towns of Noyon (Oise), St. Quentin (Aisne), Amiens (Somme), Soissons (Aisne), Rheims, Beauvais, Abbeville, and St. Riquier had their charters acknowledged by the king.

This revolution of the commons was not carried on without violent excesses on both sides. Unhappily this seems inevitable in all sudden movements of the masses ; yet we cannot refuse some degree of admiration to the perseverance with which these *manants* of the eleventh and twelfth centuries struggled to escape

from feudal oppression : to substitute order for disorder, law for arbitration, and to obtain *une bonne paix*—a good peace. But as each town fought for its own charter, instead of forming one great league, their efforts were defeated ; and during the fourteenth century, kingly power, then paramount, tore up their charters, for which they had striven so long and so persistently. They had not struggled, however, quite without results ; for when the commons disappeared, and with them the local privileges of certain cities, a new class had grown up, and soon made itself felt as the "*tiers état*."

It was with the help of this "third order," which seven centuries later caused the overthrow of a descendant of the Capets, and brought royalty to the scaffold, that Louis now increased the kingly power. The soldiers furnished him by the churches and the commons helped him to repress the brigandages of his vassals, to storm their castles, and to destroy them. Again, in his war against Henry I. of England, the soldiers of the commons ranged themselves around the oriflamme ; and, at the news that the Emperor of Germany meditated an attack on Louis, an army of burghesses held itself in readiness to defend the king.

In his struggle against Henry I. the policy of Louis was to support the claim of the rightful heir, William Cliton, and to avert the danger to France which, whilst Normandy was united to England, seemed always imminent. Louis was defeated at Brenneville, in Normandy (1119). Soon after (Nov., 1120) occurred the catastrophe of the wreck of the *Blanche-Nef*, and death of Prince William, the heir to the English throne. Henry had then only his daughter Maud, or Matilda, widow of the Emperor Henry V., to succeed him. Matilda married Geoffrey Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, and this union of England, Normandy, and Anjou was the origin of the long rivalry between England and France, so disastrous to both countries. Hitherto the Kings of France had the support of Anjou against Normandy. Now the Anglo-Norman dominion extended to the Loire, and when the son of Matilda, Henry II., married Eleanor of Guyenne, the King of England became possessed of territory in France which extended to the Pyrenees, Normandy, Anjou, Touraine, and Aquitaine, which included the seven provinces of Poitou, Saintonge, Auvergne, Perigord, Limousin, Angoumois, and Guyenne, at that time amongst the richest, most fertile, and most commercial countries of the world.

William Cliton, the son of Robert, Duke of Normandy,—kept a prisoner, since his return from the Holy Land, in Cardiff Castle.

by his brother Henry I.—after the unsuccessful attempt of Louis to wrest Normandy from Henry and give it to the rightful heir, was invested by the French king as Earl of Flanders, who had been assassinated under the following circumstances: This province was at that time covered with industrious cities, and the numerous and proud citizens cared little for the social distinctions which still had elsewhere so much value. Many serfs had glided into the citizen class, and had acquired riches and power. One of the first personages of the province, after the Earl of Flanders, was Bertholf, a serf, yet Provost of Bruges (1127)... Charles the Good, at that time earl, promulgated a law that all who were legally serfs must return into servitude. Bertholf, seeing himself and all his family thus menaced; plotted the death of the count; and one day, as Charles was praying in the church of St. Donatien, he was assassinated; and the whole province took up arms. Louis, with William Cliton, besieged the castle of Bruges, and the chiefs were put to death with all the cruelty of the period, whilst others not directly implicated in the plot were precipitated from the top of the tower of Bruges; to the number of a hundred and eleven. The relatives and friends of the Provost of Bruges continued the revolt, and William Cliton fell before the town of Alost, and died of his wounds. The untimely fate of this young prince was regrettable, for his talents and virtues made him well worthy to wear a crown.

THREE POPES IN FRANCE.

The quarrel of Investitures, that is to say, the rivalry between the Holy See and the German Empire, which commenced with Gregory VII., was not finished, and the popes, driven out of Rome by the intrigues of the emperor, sought refuge in France. Calixtus II. was elected, and at Reims (1119) held a council, which promulgated several canons against simony and the exacting fees for baptisms and burials, "the truce of God" was confirmed, the marriage of the clergy prohibited, and laxity of manners, especially amongst princes, condemned. In 1130 a double election of popes took place at Rome, and Innocent II. had to leave the town to his competitor. Louis VI. declared at a council held at Etampes, at which St. Bernard assisted, Innocent II. to be the truly elected pope. The following year this pontiff convoked a new council at Reims. The young son of Louis VI. was consecrated king as Louis VII., Philip, the eldest son of Louis VI. and his second wife, Adelaide of Savoy, having been

killed at the age of sixteen by a fall from his horse. Before the death of Louis VI. he had the satisfaction to form a brilliant marriage for his son Louis VII. William, Count of Poitiers, touched with repentance for his sins, desired to expiate them (according to the idea of that age) by a pilgrimage to St. Jacques di Compostella, in Galicia, Spain; and though he had hardly attained thirty-eight years of age, he foresaw his end was nigh, and offered the King of France his daughter Eleanor, or Alienor, for his son Louis VII. (le Jeune), with the vast estates before-enumarated as her marriage portion. William of Poitiers died in Spain (1137), and Louis and Eleanor were married at Bordeaux in July. The 1st of August following, on arriving in Paris, the young couple found that Louis VI. had expired. This king is represented as loyal, humane, and active, notwithstanding his excessive corpulence. He cared neither for his safety nor repose whenever the honour of the crown appeared compromised. He was not without talent, and circumstances favoured him in first increasing the royal power. This reign saw the commencement of the age of the earlier schoolmen, and the controversy between St. Bernard and the eloquent and gifted Abelard, whose writings were condemned as heretical. St. Bernard founded the celebrated abbey of Clairvaux (1114).

CHAPTER XXIX.

LOUIS VII., LE JEUNE (THE YOUNG) (A.D. 1137—1180).

THE great event of the reign of Louis VII. was the preaching of the second Crusade, both in France and Germany, by St. Bernard. The king was scarcely eighteen years old on his father's death, when an incident led him to join personally in the Crusade. Continuing the policy of his father in curbing the power of his vassals, he had entered the territory of Thibaut, the Count of Champagne, in arms, and when ravaging the little town of Vitry, thirteen hundred people had been burnt in a church in which they had sought refuge. The cries of these unfortunates had struck the conscience of the king with remorse, and, when he heard that the Emperor of Germany was going to the East, Louis determined also to take the cross, and notwithstanding the prudent counsels of the Abbé Suger, resolved to place himself at the head of a second expedition to the Holy Land. The zeal for the

Crusade had cooled, however, and a general tax had to be enforced on all classes of men, which caused much murmuring. "The king," said a contemporary writer, "set out on his journey followed by imprecations." St. Bernard was offered the command of the expedition, but he recalled the former expedition led by Peter the Hermit, and refused.

Louis, having received the oriflamme at St. Denis, where it was kept, set out on his way towards Constantinople by Metz and Germany. The Emperor of Germany, Conrad, with his host, had preceded Louis, and had reached Asia Minor, where, betrayed by their treacherous Greek guides, they lost their way amidst the defiles of the Taurus mountains, and almost all fell beneath the sword of the Turk. Conrad returned nearly alone to Constantinople.

Louis advanced more warily, marching along near the coast, but, on entering the mountainous region near Laodicea, a disaster befell the Latin Crusaders, in which the king nearly lost his life, and most of the nobles and knights who formed his escort perished under the sword of the infidel. The king and a few of his immediate followers continued their journey by sea, but the multitude of pilgrims who formed his army were either massacred or escaped death by renouncing their faith, "saying Christ had forsaken them."

Louis abandoned all idea of fighting for the cross, desired only to accomplish his vow of praying at the Holy Sepulchre, and that with as little delay as possible. Still he could hardly return to the West without having once drawn his sword in Palestine. It was agreed that Damascus, one of the holy cities of Islamism, should be attacked. Surrounded by gardens, forming a very forest of orange, lemon, and citron trees, of cedars, and every kind of golden or delicious fruits, this pearl of the East was besieged: but, jealous of the Earl of Flanders, who had been selected as Prince of Damascus, the other nobles fought with little zeal, and the attack was a failure. The first Crusade had at least attained its end; the second expedition left Palestine more feeble, and Islamism with renovated strength. Louis brought away with him only shame and dishonour.

(A.D. 1152.) Owing to the wise administration of the Abbé Suger, Louis found his kingdom peaceful on his return to France. Queen Eleanor had accompanied her husband to the Crusades, and had visited Constantinople on her way thither. She brought back a taste for silken garments and robes of velvet, and rich stuffs of brocade were soon adopted by ladies, who began to scorn the stout broad-cloth which hitherto had been deemed good

enough even for royal wear. This young princess and her husband were so dissimilar in character that, on their return to Europe, Louis determined to repudiate his wife; her love of gaiety and splendour ill accorded with the austere devotion of Louis, who, as she said, was "fitter for the cloister than the throne," and who, since his disastrous expedition, had returned to his kingdom with a broken and disappointed spirit. The divorced Eleanor, perhaps with an idea of revenge, gave her hand and her vast possessions to Henry Plantagenet, Count of Anjou, Duke of Normandy, and heir of the English crown, which for France was one of the most deplorable consequences of the second Crusade. Louis afterwards married twice; first, Constance, a daughter of Alphonso, King of Leon and Castile, but, as she died leaving him without an heir, he next married Alix of Champagne, daughter of Thibaut the Great. Alix became the mother of Philip Augustus.

The rivalry of Louis and Henry II. did not lead to any decisive actions, but neither of them lost any opportunity to injure the other. The latter portion of Henry's life was one succession of troubles, and the revolt of his sons, fomented by Louis, kept him constantly at war with his subjects, his sons, and the King of France. The administration of Louis and Suger was not unfavourable to progress. During this reign, we read in the chronicles of that age, a great number of towns were built, and many ancient cities were enlarged. Forests fell under the axe, and vast spaces were prepared for cultivation. Louis confirmed the privileges of the *hanse*, or society of shopkeepers of Paris, and Pope Alexander III. laid the stone of the cathedral of that city—the church of Notre Dame (1163). Louis VII. had his son Philip Augustus, then only in his fourteenth year, crowned during his own lifetime, and attached the privilege of consecration to the cathedral of Reims. The peers of France took part in the ceremony. These were the twelve great lords, who held their fiefs directly of the crown—the Dukes of Burgundy, Normandy, and Guyenne; the Earls of Champagne, Flanders, and Toulouse; the Archbishop of Reims; and the Bishops of Laon, Noyon, Châlons, Beauvais, and Langres.

DEATH OF THE KING (A.D. 1180).

Not long after the coronation of Philip Augustus, the youthful prince was out hunting, and, being separated from his companions, lost his way in a forest. A woodcutter had brought

him back, but fatigue and fear caused a long and dangerous illness, in which his life was given over. Louis, fearing to lose his only son, undertook a pilgrimage to the tomb of St. Thomas. On his return he was struck with apoplexy, and soon after died. This king was pious and enlightened, according to the age; gentle and pacific, but too feeble, and, though he granted charters, he did not love liberty, either for his nobles or the commons. The first part of his reign he showed personal bravery and activity, but the unfortunate Crusade cast a spell over him, from which he never freed himself.

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL POWER (FROM A.D. 1180 TO 1270):
—PHILIP II. (AUGUSTUS) (FROM A.D. 1180 TO 1223).

Philip II. was surnamed Augustus because his birth occurred in the month of August. From the ninth to the twelfth century, there was nominally a king in France; but the power which should appertain to royalty had passed into the hands of all the great proprietors. But a change began with Philip Augustus and St. Louis, which reconstituted a central government, but which, owing to the long-continued wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the religious wars of the sixteenth century, prevented its accomplishment until the reign of Louis XIV. The result of the wars Philip had to sustain greatly consolidated his kingdom, and increased the power of the crown by uniting to it several of the great fiefs. The Jews were persecuted, and expelled his dominions, and he took possession of their lands and houses (1182), which made him master of a considerable treasure; also many heretics were burnt at the stake.

THIRD CRUSADE (A.D. 1190—1191).

During the forty years that had elapsed between the second and the third Crusade eight kings had reigned at Jerusalem since Godfrey de Bouillon; the last, Guy de Lusignan, had been made prisoner at the battle of Tiberias by Saladin. Philip Augustus and Richard Cœur de Lion set out together. This time the army of the Crusaders consisted of good soldiers, and the best chivalry of France and England. The Emperor Frederic Barbarossa had preceded them with a formidable army. During the siege of St. Jean d'Acre, misintelligence broke out between the two kings. Philip was jealous of his brilliant rival, the Achilles of the war, and hastened back to France to undermine.

the interests of Richard at home. Philip found a willing ally in John Lackland, Richard's unworthy brother, and the fear of losing his kingdom hastened Richard's return to Europe; added to which all the leaders were tired of a war which brought no results. A truce was therefore concluded between the Saracens and the Christians. It was determined that Jerusalem should be open to the devotion of the Christians, and that they should hold all the coast from Jaffa to Tyre. The conclusion of the peace was celebrated by tournaments and festivities, in which the Mussulmans and Christians laid aside their mutual fanaticism and hatred, and most of the soldiers of the cross visited the holy places they had been unable to deliver. They then embarked for Europe; and thus ended the third Crusade. It is estimated that out of 600,000 Crusaders only 100,000 returned to their native country again. Germany lost one of the greatest of her emperors and the finest of her armies; all that the West could boast, of the most noble and illustrious of its warriors, had taken the cross in this expedition.

The names of Richard Cœur de Lion and of Saladin stand out beyond that of all others in this Crusade. Long after Richard's death both Saracens and Turks celebrated his prowess and the terror of his name in their proverbs; whilst in the West the virtues and high qualities of Saladin were acknowledged to have far exceeded those of any of the Christian princes, and thus this third Crusade was far more glorious for him than for the Crusaders. At the same time, it was not entirely without advantage for Europe. As the greater part of the Crusaders went to Palestine by sea, the art of navigation made a sensible advance. Commerce and the spirit of the holy wars contributed to the enfranchisement of the lower classes; and the standards of cities, both of Germany and France, floated in the Christian army, amidst the banners of nobles and knights. France benefited more especially from this Crusade, as it put an end both to civil and foreign wars; and, by prolonging the absence of the great vassals and the enemies of the kingdom, it weakened their power, and gave to the astute Philip Augustus an opportunity of surrounding his throne with a faithful guard, to keep up regular armies, authority to levy impost even upon the clergy, and to prepare the way for that victory of Bouvines, which proved so fatal to the enemies of France.

A long captivity awaited Richard on his return to Europe. The vessel in which he embarked was shipwrecked on the coast of Italy, and fearing to pass through France, he took the route

of Germany, concealed under the habit of a simple pilgrim. The Duke of Austria, Leopold, an enemy of Richard and the Emperor of Germany, detained him in prison against all good faith for more than a year, to the great joy of Philip and John. But a gentleman of Arras, named Blondel, set out to seek him; traversing Germany with the dress and lyre of a minstrel, he discovered the illustrious captive by singing a verse of a song known to both of them, which Richard answered by singing the second



TROUBADOUR OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

couplet. His prison doors at length were opened, but a heavy ransom was demanded, which the people of England paid joyfully for their popular king and hero. The wretched John fled to Normandy, having been warned by Philip that the "devil was let loose;" soon after war between the French king and Richard began in Normandy, and Philip was beaten at Gisors. The pope, Innocent III., interposed, and induced the rival monarchs to sign a peace for five years (January, 1199). Two months after Richard was killed by an arrow whilst besieging the small castle of Chalus-Chabrol in the Limousin, and magnanimously forgave the soldier, Bertrand de Gourdon, who had shot him out of revenge for having been the cause of the death of his father and two brothers.

No sooner did John Lackland become King of England, than his ancient ally, Philip, became his enemy. The claims of Arthur, son of Godfrey, John's eldest brother, proclaimed king by the Barons of Brittany, Anjou, Maine, and Touraine, were

acknowledged by the French king, but the young prince was surprised and taken prisoner at Mirabeau near Poitiers by his uncle, and the belief was that John stabbed him with his own hand at Rouen (1203). Eleanor the Fair, Maid of Brittany, Arthur's sister, was imprisoned by John in Bristol castle. Philip summoned John as his vassal to appear before him to answer for these crimes; and, on John's refusal, the French king led an army into Normandy, and took, after a six months' siege, the castle of Gaillard, a strong fortress built by Richard, and seized one after the other all the towns of the province, even Rouen, "that very wealthy city, full of noble men and chiefs of all Normandy." Anjou, Touraine, and Poitou were also lost by the cowardly John; but even John could hardly resign himself without an effort to such a loss of territory and of honour. A coalition was formed. Otho IV. of Germany, the counts of Flanders and of Boulogne entered into it. Louis, the king's son, marched against John, who was attacking France in Poitou, whilst Philip, with the remainder of his chivalry and the soldiers of the commons of the towns of the north, met Otho and his army near Bouvines, between Lille and Tournai, 27th July, 1214. Both armies remained for some time within sight, without daring to begin the attack. At length, as the French retired across the bridge of Bouvines to enter Hainault, the enemy attacked the rearguard, and obliged him to turn round. Philip, says his chaplain, William le Breton, was reposing under a tree near a chapel. The king quickly armed, entered the church to say a short prayer, and then, vaulting across his destrier, the trumpets sounded, and he pressed onwards without waiting for his banner, the oriflamme of St. Denis, carried that day by a valiant man, Galon de Montigni. The Bishop of Senlis so ordered the battle that the French had the sun behind them, whilst the enemy had its rays in their eyes. 800 mounted bourgeois of Soissons, vassals of the Abbé of St. Médard, began the conflict, and charged audaciously the chivalry of Flanders. These hesitated to attack the men of the people; a shout of "Death to the French!" however, from their own ranks broke down their scruples, and the *mêlée* became furious. The militia of the commons, who had passed beyond Bouvines before the battle began, now hastened back, and ranged themselves near the royal standard in front of the king. The German knights, with their emperor in the midst, rode through them; in the meanwhile, the German Gonplius reached the king, who was thrown from his horse, and was in great peril; but whilst they sought to pierce him through

his armour, his *portè-gonfanon*, Montigni, waved the oriflamme, and his bravest knights and the commons rushed to the rescue. Once more mounted on his destrier, he again threw himself into the *mêlée*. Otho, in his turn, was almost taken prisoner by the valiant William des Barbes, the bravest and strongest of the French knights. The Count of Flanders had fallen wounded into the hands of the French. The emperor and the German princes had retreated; but on the left the Duke of Burgundy and the English obstinately held their ground. They had driven in the people of Ponthieu, of Veneise, of Perche, and of Dreux, when Philip de Dreux, Bishop of Beauvais, afflicted at the sight, began to deal in all directions heavy blows with a club he carried in his hand, killing, but not shedding blood—a distinction he desired every one to remark. The English at length gave up the contest, and the battle was won.

The return of Philip to Paris was a triumphal march. Never before in the same degree had the people participated in the success of their king. From this battle we may date monarchical unity as decided. All the people, men and women, old men and children crowded along the road; the houses were hung with tapestry, and the route was spread with green branches and flowers. All wished to see the Count of Flanders, who, wounded and in chains, was carried on a litter to the new tower of the Louvre, where he remained thirteen years; the other prisoners, not ransomed, were shut up in the great and little *châtelet* of Paris. Henceforth France had a king, and the King of France governed a nation.

FOURTH CRUSADE (A.D. 1202—1204).

Events in Europe had been sufficiently stirring to place Jerusalem in the background since the unsuccessful issue of the third Crusade. Since the death of Saladin, the Christians in the East had fallen again under the power of the infidel, when a preacher of rare eloquence, Foulques, of Neuilly-sur-Marne, took the occasion of a brilliant tournament at the court of Thibaut, Count of Champagne, to represent the sufferings of their brothers in the East to the assembled barons and knights, who all took the cross. This time, neither the kings nor the people took any part in it. The republic of Venice furnished ships and persuaded their allies, the Crusaders, that the keys of Jerusalem were to be secured only by taking possession of either Cairo or Constantinople. The Venetians had a commercial interest in this, as Cairo would

assure them the road to India and Constantinople, the commerce of the Black Sea and Archipelago.

When the French knights came in view of the high walls, the gilded domes of the innumerable churches, and allowed their eyes to wander over the splendours of this queen of cities, the heart of the bravest beat more rapidly, and each one looked to his arms, for they expected a terrible struggle, but when the magnificent army of Greeks came to encounter the point of the lance they turned and fled. On the 18th July, 1203, the town was carried by assault. During this sack, a square league of the city was destroyed by fire. What treasures of art must have perished !

FRANK EMPIRE FOUNDED (A.D. 1204—1261).

The Eastern empire was divided between the conquerors. Baudoin IV., Count of Flanders, was elected emperor. Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, was made King of Macedonia. Villehardouin, Sénéchal of the county of Champagne, became Maréchal of Roumania, and his nephew, the Prince of Achaïa. There were dukes of Athens and Naxos; counts of Cephalonia, and a sire of Thebes and Corinth. This strange mélange of classic names and feudal titles formed a hybrid France at the extremity of Europe; but the Crusaders were too few in number to make good their conquest in 1261. The Latin empire fell to pieces, yet until the end of the Middle Ages these French feudal principalities left some traces upon the soil of Miltiades and Leonidas.

SPANISH FRANCOIS.—CRUSADE AGAINST THE ALBIGENSES (A.D. 1208).

Since the time of Dagobert, Charles Martel, Pepin, Charlemagne, Charles the Bald, and Hugh Capet, the south of France had constantly aimed at remaining separate from the north. The King of Aragon had acquired by marriage, or otherwise, dominion over a great number of French nobles. The counts of Béarn, of Armagnac (Gers), of Comminges (Haute-Garonne), of Bigorre (Hautes-Pyrénées), of Foix, and of Roussillon lived under his protection. The viscounts of Narbonne, Beziers, and Carcassonne looked upon him as their lord. The lord of Montpellier submitted to him, and the powerful Count of Toulouse could hardly maintain his independence. All the towns of the Langue-d'Oc were rich and populous; commerce had given ease and means to

the bourgeoisie, and luxury to the nobles, and both united without jealousy or hatred in the municipal functions; the country enjoyed far more tranquillity than the north. Amongst other causes of separation religious subtilties and controversy had formed a church rather than an isolated sect amongst the Albigenses of Languedoc, and a struggle between the new hierarchy and that of Rome was imminent in 1200. The Church of the thirteenth century made use of the antipathies of race, and transferred the crusade against the infidels to the heretics. The preachers were the same, the Benedictines of Cîteaux, and the antipathy of the north saw in the mercantile spirit, the elegance, luxuries, and levity of the south, in the Moorish dances and costumes, and the dusky Saracenic features of the people, those eaters of garlic, of oil, and of figs!—the race of the Moor and of the Jew. To the crusaders, Languedoc seemed another Judæa. Philippe-Auguste encouraged the movement, especially against the "*Routiers*," or mercenary soldiers principally in the service of England, who committed terrible ravages on the frontiers between the north and the south, in the Marches, Auvergne, and the Limousin—the people armed and formed an association called the "*Capuchons*," to exterminate their bands; and aided by troops furnished by the king, killed 10,000 of them at one blow. The Inquisition, a tribunal charged to seek out and judge heretics, had also sacrificed many victims, but failed to put a stop to the movement. A crusade therefore was readily undertaken by the chivalry of the north of France against the south, with the hope of pillaging the rich cities of which they had heard such marvels, as well as satisfying at the same time their jealousy of a superiority which was odious to them. A count of the neighbourhood of Paris, Simon de Montfort, put himself at the head of this expedition. The war was carried out mercilessly. The civilization of the south was stifled, and "the gay science," as the troubadours called poetry, could no longer sing when surrounded by smoking and blood-stained ruins. The Vaudois, called also the "Poor of Lyons," who endeavoured to reproduce the Church in its simplicity and apostolic purity, did not escape the sanguinary spirit of the times in which religion was only a handle for ambition or revenge to make use of. In a combat near Toulouse, the King of Aragon was killed, and even the stern Simon de Montfort, when he saw this gallant knight and brilliant troubadour stretched upon the ground, could not repress a tear to one whose memory was long cherished in the south.

The Church now seemed triumphant; there remained only the heretics of Flanders; and, reassured on the side of the south, Innocent III. preached a crusade against John, the excommunicated King of England, and charged the King of France to execute the apostolic sentence. The caitiff John, however, made his peace with the pope, and Philip had to adjourn his intended invasion of England, and turned his arms against Flanders instead. England and Flanders carried on a close commercial intercourse from a very early date. Flemish weavers needed English wool. The men of Ghent and of Bruges had no better reputation for orthodoxy than the Albigenses of Langue-doc. Gladly, Philip invaded and cruelly ravaged the country; the French king, however, had to destroy his fleet in order to save it from the English fleet which blockaded it; in revenge, the French burnt Dam and Lille.

The young Louis, son of Philip Augustus, feigning to act against the wish of his father, passed over into England, called there by the barons, who intended to dethrone John and place the French prince, nephew of John, through his wife, Blanche of Castile, on the throne; but the death of the king altered the state of affairs, and Louis returned to France, disappointed in his hopes. Innocent III. had died two months before John, 16th July, 1216. Seven years later, 1223, Philip Augustus died at Nantes after a long and well-filled reign which had lasted forty-eight years, his age being only fifty-nine. Under Philip, Paris was embellished, paved, and surrounded by a wall eight feet in thickness, flanked by five hundred towers, pierced by thirteen ports and defended by a moat. Markets were built and a better system of police maintained. The nave, the choir, and the majestic façade of Nôtre Dame were finished; the Louvre was begun; the University of Paris, called L'étude de Paris, was instituted, with many privileges, and the royal archives were founded; the royal domain had been doubled, and royalty itself shook off tutelage, to the great profit of order, industry, and commerce.

PORTRAIT OF PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

At the age of twenty Philip was tall and well-proportioned; his complexion fair and high-coloured; his hair blonde, fell in curls over his shoulders, in Norman fashion; his nose was thick, but well-shaped; his mouth rather large; his eyes brilliant. He had more firmness and daring than his predecessors, but also,

constant good fortuna attended all his enterprizes. Still, Philip did not belie his surname of Augustus, and may be considered as the true founder of monarchical power in France.

By his first wife, Isabella of Hainault, Philip left one son, Louis VIII. His second wife, Ingeburge of Denmark, he repudiated, to marry Agnes de Meranie. The pope took the part of the ill-used Danish princess, and launched an interdict against his kingdom, and Philip was forced to submit to the universal discontent which this occasioned. Agnes de Meranie was sent away, and died of a broken heart, and the unwelcome Ingeburge was brought back. We see by this example, that we are leaving behind the times when brute force reigned alone, for the king felt he had been in the wrong, and submitted to public opinion and the voice of the Church.

Louis VIII., who survived his father only three years (1223—1226), began to reign at the early age of thirty-nine. His reign was only a short continuation of the former. All the south-west of the Rhône, except Guyenne and Toulouse, now recognized the royal authority. This brief reign between the two long reigns of his father and son almost passes unnoticed. The principal event was a second crusade against the Albigenses, and the conquest of Poitou, La Rochelle, and all the towns north of the Garonne. Louis was feeble both in mind and body, and was governed by those around him. During his expedition against the Albigenses, an epidemic raged in his army during the siege of Avignon. The king was attacked by it, and died at Montpensier, in Auvergne, the 8th Nov., 1226, having commended his eldest son to the care of the prelates and nobles who surrounded him. He left in his will one hundred sous to each of two thousand leper-houses of France, and twenty thousand livres between the two hundred hôtes dieu, or hospitals. He had enfranchised the serfs of his fief of Etampes (1221), and these enfranchisements continued until the reign of Louis X., when serfdom came to an end in France.

CHAPTER XXX.

SAINT LOUIS (A.D. 1226—1270).

THE true hero of the Middle Ages was St. Louis. It is his peculiar praise to have combined in his own person the virtues apparently the most incompatible with each other and with the

state and trials of a king. Seated on the noblest of the thrones of Europe, he was as meek and gentle as if he had been undistinguished from the meanest of mankind; endowed from his boyhood, by the lavish bounties of nature, with rank, wealth, power, health, and personal beauty, he was as compassionate as if sorrow had been his daily companion from his youth. An enthusiast in music, architecture, and polite learning, he applied himself to all the details of public business with the assiduity of one who had no other means of subsistence. Though glowing with all the ardour of an Homeric hero on the field of battle, he purchased and maintained peace by sacrifices which might have appeared humiliating. Surpassed by no monarch in modern Europe in the munificence of his bounties, or in the splendour of his public works, those purest luxuries of royalty were in no instance defrayed from any tributes levied on his people. Passionately attached to his kindred, he never enriched or exalted any one of them at the public expense. With a soul knit to his Church, and entirely devoted to her interest, he opposed a firmer resistance and a more enduring barrier to sacerdotal rapacity and ambition than had been contemplated by the most audacious and worldly-minded of his predecessors.

REGENCY OF BLANCHE OF CASTILE (A.D. 1226—1236).

The son of Louis VIII. was a child of eleven years at his father's death. His brothers were Robert of Artois, Alphonse of Poitiers, Charles of Anjou, and a sister, Elizabeth. Their mother, Blanche of Castile, was a Spaniard, a woman of commanding character and beauty. She had educated Louis in sentiments of the most sincere piety, which he eminently carried out in his life. The courage and firmness of Blanche suppressed a coalition formed by the great vassals, who hoped to profit by the long minority of the king, and assured for Louis more absolute power than that of Philip Augustus, even after the king had attained his majority. This wise mother and regent retained a great influence over the direction of affairs and the mind of her son.

Louis IX. attained his majority in 1236. His character was not one that developed early; its leading feature was devotion to duty, and for long he believed his duty to consist in obedience. The young monarch was as brave as he was pious, and politic as he was just, and the occasion of a renewal of the revolt of the great vassals of the crown enabled Louis to display

the qualities which distinguished him both as a knight and king. In 1242, when attacked by the English, who favoured the revolt of his barons, Louis beat them both at Taillebourg and at Saintes. A truce of five years was signed with England. Not long after (1244), Louis was seized with an illness at Pontoise, which placed his life in jeopardy. The people, who already cherished their young king, crowded to the churches. At one moment, it was supposed that he had breathed his last. The danger passed over, and as soon as Louis regained consciousness, he ordered a red cross to be placed on his bed and on his vestments, to the astonishment of every one. His mother endeavoured to dissuade him from embarking in a crusade which for more than a century had been pursued at such a cost of life and suffering ; but he was inflexible, and, embarking at Aigues Mortes, he reached Damietta, on one of the mouths of the Nile, on the 7th of June, 1249, and made himself master of the town almost without a blow. The king's brother Robert, the Count of Artois, and many knights templar, were killed in a combat with the Mamelukes, and the Count of Anjou, another brother of the king, was saved by Louis, who made his way through the Saracens to his rescue. After endeavouring to reach Cairo, the king was forced to retreat. The number of the sick and wounded in his army, encamped upon the unhealthy, alluvial soil of the Nile, the infected waters of which brought on fearful maladies, rendered further progress impossible. The knowledge of science was far more advanced in the East than in the West, and enabled the Saracens to use the terrible Greek fire against the Christians, which water could not extinguish, and which burnt the soldier, enclosed within his armour, without remedy. The retreat was disastrous. Harassed by the enemy, the wounded, and those who could not keep up, are massacred, and at length the king, almost in a dying state, falls a prisoner into the hands of the sultan. When the negotiations of ransom were being debated, St. Louis promised to give up Damietta for his own ransom, and 400,000 livres for his barons. His words on this occasion are well known : "The King of France cannot be ransomed by money." When awaiting near Damietta the conclusion of the negotiations, the sultan was murdered by his Mamelukes. The treaty was, however, carried out, and Damietta was given back to the infidels, and the king, with his brothers, the Counts of Anjou and of Poitiers, with his knights, received their liberty. The queen, Margaret of Provence, had remained alone in Damietta, ever since Louis had

landed in Egypt. Her little son, born there during the captivity of the king, she named Tristram, in allusion to these sad circumstances. Almost unattended, except by an old knight, her terror must have been great, and her well-known prayer to this faithful guardian, that he would cut off her head if the town were taken, is as noble as his reply: "Madame, j'y avais pensé."

On leaving Egypt, the king turned his steps towards Palestine, where he remained three years, employing himself in maintaining peace amongst the Christians, and his resources in fortifying the places still held by them. The news of his disasters, in France only increased his popularity. His want of generalship was overlooked, and his virtues alone remembered. "He is betrayed and abandoned by the great lords and prelates—it is for us to deliver him." Such was the popular cry in France, and crowds of peasants and serfs assembled in order to cross the sea, and deliver their king. This was called the crusade of the "pastoureaux," because it was composed chiefly of the pastoral or rural class. These enthusiasts were conducted by a Hungarian preacher; but unfortunately a number of vagabonds joined their ranks, disorder and pillage being their only object. The regent Queen Blanche thought it her duty to punish them; they were hunted like wild beasts and dispersed, A.D. 1251.

RETURN OF LOUIS (1254), AND DEATH OF LA REINE BLANCHE.

The regent continued to govern, during her son's long absence, with wisdom and firmness. The news of her death reached the king at Sidon, 1252, which caused him great grief, and decided him to return at once to his kingdom. This great queen died at the age of sixty-five. During his journey, when passing near Cyprus, the galley of the king was injured against a rock. Louis was counselled to embark in another vessel. His words are memorable: "If I leave the ship, five or six hundred persons who are in it, and who value their lives as much as I do mine, would fear to remain. They would disembark on the island, and have to give up all chance or hope of returning to their own country. It is better that I should place myself, the queen, and my children in danger, and in the hands of God, than bring so much harm upon so many people." The king reached Hyères the 10th of July, 1254, in safety, after escaping so many dangers, but his countenance long bore an expression of profound sadness. The abolition of private wars, and the statute of St. Louis, which rendered each noble responsible for the guardianship of the

mules that traversed his domains, gave some degree of security in the country districts. He also reformed the disorder in the currency; no less than eighty nobles coined money, to the great prejudice of the poor. The currency was now put under the dependence of the royal authority, to the great advantage of commerce. The royal watch was instituted in Paris, and peace and order were promoted amongst the industrial classes of his capital by various ordinances.

THE LAST CRUSADE OF ST. LOUIS (A.D. 1270).

Whilst St. Louis was thus actively engaged in advancing useful reforms throughout his kingdom, the news of terrible massacres of the Christians in the East by the Mamelukes, saddened the heart of the king, and he once more took the cross; but it was so little popular that the Seneschal of Champagne, the Sire de Joinville, notwithstanding his great attachment to the saintly king, refused this time to leave his "beau castel de Joinville" and his family.

The army embarked, after having been slowly brought together, in some Genoese vessels, and after twenty days at sea, it seemed impossible to reach either Palestine or Egypt. St. Louis was persuaded to sail towards Tunis by the interested counsels of his brother Charles of Anjou, who, called by the pope to take arms against Manfred, King of Naples, had conquered the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and therefore desired the submission of the King of Tunis, to ensure Sicily from the constant inroads of the Saracens. Louis hoped that the apparition of a Christian army would convert the Soudan and the Moors, but the Genoese, and other crusaders knew that Tunis was a rich town, and looked forward to hostilities and pillage. The French took Carthage, which was little more than a castle, and Louis there awaited the arrival of his brother, to march upon Tunis.

This terrible Charles of Anjou, cruel and avaricious, who never smiled, of few words, but sanguinary in deeds, a zealous Catholic, harsh in judgment, fierce in looks—" *Homme noir qui ne dormait presque point.*" Such was the demonlike brother of the saintly Louis, then occupied in crushing the last descendant of the noble house of Hohenstaufen—the young and heroic Conradin, and his cousin Frederic of Austria,* which put an end to the struggle between the pope's, or sacerdotal, power and the empire. This war in Sicily was also a crusade against the Hohenstauffen, a war

* See "History of Germany" in this series.

of Guelph against Ghibellin—Christian against Christian. We shall soon read of the Sicilian vespers.

During this fatal delay, the burning sun, the small supply of putrid water, and the wind of the desert, laden with a fine sand and noxious vapours, developed the seeds of pestilence within eight days. One after the other, counts and nobles died so fast, the survivors had not even the energy to bury them; they were thrown into the canal. The king and his sons did not escape the general plague. The youngest and most cherished of his children, Jean Tristam, born at Damietta, died, and when St. Louis was told of it, it seemed to be for him a final detachment from terrestrial things—a temptation to die; and thus, without regret or trouble, he fulfilled the last duties of a Christian. To his son he said, “Beau fils,—I pray thee to gain the love of thy people, for truly I would rather a Scotchman came from Scotland and governed well and loyally, than that thou shouldst govern ill.” Extended on a bed of ashes the saintly king passed away, with his last breath faintly murmuring, “O Jerusalem! O Jerusalem!”

The crusade of Louis was the last. Already modern ideas were beginning to dawn in the time of Philip le Bel, the grandson of St. Louis, and the Middle Ages to fade away into the past. In 1327, the Venetian Senate proposed to the pope a “commercial crusade,” to open to the commerce of India a road through Persia, instead of Alexandria and Damietta. The spirit of modern times then commenced its advent, and henceforth commerce, and not religion, was to become the motive for undertaking distant expeditions. In our days we may perhaps add another and very noble motive—the advance of science.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE crusades definitively had failed, except in Spain, where the Christian kingdoms had no longer to fear the Mussulman; but, if Christianity had gained little during this immense movement of men, commerce, industry, letters, and the arts had taken a high flight. But for the wars, which retarded the renaissance, it might have dated from the thirteenth century—the age of two great popes, Innocent III. and IV.—of Albert the Great, of St. Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, and Dante.

Before the crusades, the towns of Italy, of Provence, and

Catalonia alone ventured in distant commercial intercourse; Germany and France now began to imitate their example. Many of the towns in France held annual fairs celebrated throughout Europe. The men of Rouen, Orleans, Amiens and Reims traded with the silk manufactures of Flanders and the vast mart at Bruges. Those of Lyons, Nismes, Avignon and Marseilles brought the productions of the East from Alexandria, which came also through Germany and Venice. Bordeaux already exported its wines to England and Flanders. Toledo furnished arms to the towns of Languedoc of fine-tempered steel. The leather hangings of Cordova covered with arabesque were celebrated. The seamen of Biarritz and Bayonne commenced whale-fishing. Paris had its *hanse* or association for the merchandize which arrived by water, hence the arms of Paris, a vessel with unfurled sails. The glass of Tyre was imitated at Venice, and replaced mirrors of metal; also several other useful things became known, as windmills, linen, silk, tissues of Damascus imitated at Palermo and Milan, the sugar-cane and various fruits; cotton stuffs were highly prized, but began to be more widely used; paper of cotton had been known for some time, and in this century linen paper was fabricated but did not supersede parchment until the 16th century. St. Louis brought the ranunculus and the King of Navarre the rose of Damascus from the East. The art of enamelling was applied, and goldsmiths' work was much improved, also the engraving of seals and of money.

During a century and a half great changes had taken place in France. Towards the close of the 13th century the most revolutionary power was the king—as the aristocracy had been before Hugh Capet, and as the people were to be after Louis XIV. Many barriers had been overturned since Philip I., a prisoner rather than a king, had with difficulty held the four or five towns which formed the whole of the royal patrimony now. Royalty was marching fast towards absolute power; her vassals had been obliged to accept the "Peace of the king," the justice of the king. The royal currency and the laws she made for all. The people, too, were beginning to count as something; they were working themselves upwards; already in the 12th century the testimony of a serf was admitted, and the popes Adrian IV., and especially Alexander III., had enforced enfranchisement in a bull. The able government of Philip Augustus and the fostering care of St. Louis created some degree of order, of peace, and of security within the kingdom. "The increase of the population was rapid, as was attested," says the Sire de Joinville,

in his "Vie de St. Louis," "by the great works undertaken and carried through within a century, and the general activity and advancement." The desire for instruction became so general in the thirteenth century, that the schools attached to the monasteries were insufficient, although there were more than a thousand of them; others were opened in all the large towns. Poverty and the scarcity of books rendered necessary instruction by word of mouth, and as soon as any master of celebrity set up a chair, pupils flocked round him from all parts. Paris, Angers, Orleans, Toulouse, Montpellier—masters and disciples—united to form a university, a corporative body with extensive privileges attached. The University of Paris held her statutes from Philip Augustus, 1215, which attracted students from all countries, Latin being used universally in all the schools.

Since the fall of the Roman Empire, science had remained in the hands of the clergy: it now became secularized in the universities. It was in the thirteenth century that the cathedrals of Paris, Rouen, Amiens, Sens, Chartres, Reims, Bourges, Strasbourg and the St. Chapelle of St. Louis were erected—mountains of stone sculpture with the finish of lace-work—all the luxury of the middle age was lavished on its churches. Suger brought from all parts of the kingdom workmen of every kind—masons, workers in wood, painters, smiths, goldsmiths and stone-cutters, all renowned for their skill in their work,—and desired them to consecrate the wood, the stone, the gold, the diamond, and all other precious material to decorate to the glory of God and of the saints and martyrs their new churches. To this was added for the services of the church, sacred vessels of gold and silver, onyx, sardonyx, emerald and chrysolite—purple stuffs, gold embroidery and silken vestments, stained glass and sculptures in marble; missals and books of prayer were ornamented with exquisite paintings in miniature, and Cimabue in Italy began at Florence a restoration of painting.

A new order in the church arose in this century—that of the mendicants; under the name of Franciscans and Dominicans: their rule was to live on charity, to hoard nothing, and to preach the gospel to the poor on the wayside, or do whatever a clergy, grown too pampered and wealthy, had neglected.

CHAPTER XXXII.

PHILIP III. THE HARDY (A.D. 1270—1285).

THE son of St. Louis returning from the unfortunate Crusade of Tunis, exposed five coffins in the royal vault of St. Denis. Feeble and dying himself he was thus the heir of almost all the Capets. But all powerful as he was, the real head of the family was Charles de Anjou, his uncle. This ambitious and sinister man was Count of Provence, King of Naples, of Sicily, and Jerusalem; and above all he governed the papacy, and deceived the pious simplicity of St. Louis by turning the crusade from its proper aim to direct it against Tunis, which he desired to render tributary. He arrived the last and returned the first from this disastrous expedition undertaken by his counsels and for his own interests, and he was in time to profit by a tempest which cast the vessels of the crusaders upon the rocks of Calabria, and coldly contested with his brother-at-arms his rights as lord of that coast to all that the sea cast upon it.

SICILIAN VESPERS.

It is not surprising that a prince who could act in this manner towards his own countrymen should weigh heavily upon the people of the two Sicilies. A conspiracy was fomented by John of Procida, a friend and confidant of the late King Manfred, a Hohenstauffen, and when Charles of Anjou added to the insolence of conquest an attempt to levy taxes, the national antipathy towards their French tyrants broke out into open revolt. It was on Easter Monday, the 30th March, 1282, the whole population of Palermo were on their way to vespers: the viceroy had forbidden the men to carry arms. A French soldier insolently stopped one of the Sicilian nobles, who with his family was on his way towards the church, and searched him, but finding no arms he was proceeding to search others of the family, when he was disarmed by the exasperated Sicilian and killed with his own sword. A cry arose of "Death to the French!" and the work of destruction began; all who could not pronounce the *c* or *ch* Italian (*ceci, ciceri*), were killed at once. The King of Aragon, who had married Constance, sister of Conradin, murdered by Charles just before joining St. Louis at Tunis, sent aid to the Sicilians. Messina was besieged by Charles of Anjou, but obliged to raise the siege he returned to Calabria with his army, and the

Ghibellin Admiral, Roger de Loria, engaged his fleet outside the port of Naples, and took it with his son, Charles de Boiteux, prisoner. Whilst forming projects of revenge, Charles of Anjou was himself surprised by death, A.D. 1285, and Philip III., his nephew, who had undertaken an expedition against the King of Aragon, was taken ill of fever and died at Perpignan the same year, A.D. 1285. He had reigned fifteen years and was only forty years of age at his death.

PHILIP IV. LE BEL, OR THE FAIR (A.D. 1285—1314).

Philip was only seventeen at his father's death. Edward I., King of England, came to render homage to his young nephew, A.D. 1286, the year of Philip's coronation, for the fiefs held in France by him. The first act of the French king was to exclude all ecclesiastics from sitting in his parliament. In A.D. 1289, an order of the king "Forbids Philip or John, door-keepers of parliament, to allow any prelate to enter within the chamber without consent of the masters (presidents)." This was the first attempt at separation between the civil and ecclesiastical orders, or church and state, and he moderated the religious tyranny of the Inquisition against the Jews and the heretics in the south of France; he foresaw for the first time a gleam of toleration and equity, though these were not the motives which influenced Philip, as we shall see in the sequel. In A.D. 1291, the king limited the terrible absorbing power of the church, which was little by little getting all the landed possessions of the kingdom within the grasp of the *mani morte* or entail.

By his marriage with the heiress of Navarre and Champagne, Philip acquired two rich provinces: La Marche and Angoumois were, by a sentence of parliament, taken from the heirs of Hugh de Lusignan, and secured to the royal domain. The second son of Louis married the heiress of Franche-Comté, thus a great part of France entered into the possession of the crown. Philip still had powerful adversaries in his vassals—the Duke of Brittany, the Count of Flanders, the Duke of Guyenne, and the King of England. Edward I., occupied in Wales and Scotland, was unable to cross to the continent, so the royal army made rapid progress in Guyenne, and a French fleet even menaced Dover. Philip went himself into Flanders to attack the earl, who had declared for the King of England, and beat the Flemish troops at Furnes, A.D. 1297. Pope Boniface VIII. brought about a peace between the two kings, and a daughter of Philip the Fair

married a son of Edward I., and carried to the crown of England a right to that of France, which Edward III. did not fail to assert, A.D. 1299. The Earl of Flanders submitted to Philip, and Flanders was united to France, A.D. 1300. All the court went to visit this new conquest with great pomp, and the people of Flanders received with honour their noble visitors, dressed in their richest robes and displaying all their wealth. At Bruges, the wives of the bourgeois displayed so much gold and jewelry that the queen exclaimed, "I thought there was but one queen in France, and I see here six hundred." Flanders was, in fact, at that time the richest country in Europe, because it was the most industrious. The numerous towns full of an intelligent and energetic population clung to England, from whence they fetched the wool necessary for their manufactures.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PHILIP THE FAIR—*continued.*

THE reign of Philip IV. le Bel was a transition period. The feudal times were over, or nearly so, during which the king needed no administrative agents, because he levied no taxes, nor paid an army, his vassals giving their services gratuitously. Now, instead of baron fighting against baron, war was carried on beyond the frontiers, and the local combat became the long and distant campaign. The king had now to enroll mercenaries, to increase his navy; and to furnish ways and means, taxes had to be levied. These entailed a vast and expensive administration. Philip was thus always in need of money, and this was the cause of the cruel policy which led him to persecute and pillage the bankers of that age—the Jews and the Lombards; to debase the currency, to crush his Flemish subjects with taxes, which forced them to revolt; also the clergy, which led to a rupture with Boniface VIII., and to destroy the order of the Knights Templars, his aim being to appropriate their riches. The only honest means he made use of to enrich the crown was by selling their liberty to many of the serfs on his domains, converting his rights over them to pecuniary payments.

This cruel and unscrupulous policy explains, though it does not excuse, not only the acts of Philip himself, but of the whole fourteenth century. All the kings of this transition period were

false coiners and persecutors wherever there was money to be extorted by violence.

WAR WITH FLANDERS (A.D. 1302—1304).—BATTLE OF COURTRAY (A.D. 1302).

Jacques de Chatillon, the French governor of Flanders, carried out the intentions of Philip with regard to this rich province, by using every means to extort money from the wealthy citizens. The sturdy and independent population revolted, and, in the town of Bruges, 3000 French were massacred. The army which Philip sent under Robert of Artois was beaten at Courtray, and the flower of the French nobility learnt to respect the prowess of the citizen soldiers. In 1304, though Philip retrieved the disgrace of Courtray at the battle of Mons-en-Puelle, he could not discourage his opponent, who offered him battle the day after their defeat. This time, Philip preferred to treat with them. Douai, Lille, Bethune, and all the Walloon, or French-speaking Flanders, were ceded to the king, who gave them back their own earl, with promise only of feudal homage. Thus, French royalty had to retreat before Flemish democracy.

The quarrel of Philip with Boniface VIII. had commenced in 1296, brought about by the imposts which the king had laid upon the churches of France. The pope accused the king of cruel extortions both on clergy and people: "God," said Boniface, "has placed us, however unworthy, over kings and kingdoms, to uphold or to destroy, in His name and by His teaching. Be not therefore persuaded that thou alone art master, and owe no submission to the chief of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Whoever thinks thus is without sense, and to maintain it is infidelity."

The reproach of the pope with regard to Philip's cruel practices and government was well founded, and it was then considered to be the duty of the pontiff to judge and punish the misdeeds of princes and potentates. Philip, however, openly revolted against these pretensions, and declared that he would not recognize any power above his own, except that of God, in the temporal affairs of his kingdom. He had the papal bull burnt publicly, and convoked the States-General for the first time, consisting of the clergy, nobility and bourgeois of the "tiers état," 10th of April, 1302, in order to gain the national sanction on the side of resistance.

The pope, then eighty-six years of age, was nearly assassinated

by French agents, and a noble of Rome, Sciarra Colonna, an enemy of Boniface; but the people of Anagni armed and drove the French from the town. The aged pontiff died soon after of these vexations, and his successor, Benedict XI., wishing to revenge the affronts offered to Boniface, was himself poisoned, and died within a month after excommunicating Philip and his agents. The next pope was Bertrand de Got, Archbishop of Bordeaux, who promised Philip to act only under his guidance. The new pope took the name of Clement V., and abandoning Rome, was consecrated at Lyons. From that period the papal residence was fixed at Avignon (1308), where his successors continued to reside until 1375. This shook the church to its foundations, and was called "The Babylonish Captivity."

The last years of Philip's reign were more sombre even than its commencement. For more than six years, the chief dignitaries of the order of the Templars had been left to languish in prison; they were brought before a pontifical commission (1313), and condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and the grand master, Jacques Molay, and another dignitary, were burned at the stake, 11th March, 1314, on the Pont Neuf, where the statue of Henry IV. now stands. It was popularly believed that from the midst of the flames the grand master had cited the pope and the king to appear with him before the judgment-seat of God, the former within four months, the latter in a year. Both died within that time. Clement V., who had established his court at Avignon, expired at Roquemaure (Gard) April, 1314, and Philip le Bel at Fontainebleau, the 29th November, within the same year, at the age of forty-six, having reigned twenty-nine years.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE THREE SONS OF PHILIP LE BEL (A.D. 1314—1328).—

LOUIS X. (A.D. 1314—1316).

THE three sons of Philip le Bel reigned one after the other. Louis X. le Hutin, or the quarrelsome; Philip the Long, until 1322; Charles le Bel, until 1328. The first of these princes only wore the crown during eighteen months. The two chief facts of this short reign were, the solemn declaration that, "according to the law of nature, every one is born free (franc);"

and the right to inherit the crown of France was conferred only on the male succession; this was termed the Salic law. Louis died of a fever at the age of twenty-seven.

Philip V. convoked three times the States-General; he endeavoured to establish a better coinage, and other ordinances, exhibiting a remarkable spirit of order and economy. A cruel persecution of Jews and of lepers took place in this reign. Philip allowed titles to be purchased. In its origin, nobility was a personal attribute; then it became an attribute attached to military fiefs; now there was in reality no longer a true nobility, because any one could become noble for so much ready money. Thus, whilst altering its original spirit, the duration of an aristocracy was secured. The pastouraux once more endeavoured to form a crusade, in order to deliver Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. They traversed France, living on charity, with the hope of embarking at Aigues Mortes, but, as before, they were dispersed and hunted like wild beasts, so that nearly all of them perished. Philip died of a low fever, after lingering five months; it was said that his exactions brought upon him the malediction of his people, and his early death at the age of twenty-eight.

Charles IV., brother of Isabella, queen of Edward II. of England, whom he aided in her projects against her feeble husband, died at the age of thirty-four. The people saw, in the premature deaths of Philip le Bel and his three sons a sign of the vengeance of heaven upon a family who had persecuted Boniface VIII.; poisoned, as was believed, Benoit XI.; and tortured and exterminated the order of the Knights Templars. Charles lost two young sons, and left only a daughter, who could not succeed him, being debarred by the Salic law. The crown, therefore, passed to a cousin, and the direct line of Hugues Capet came to an end, after having given fifteen kings to France, who reigned during a period of 331 years.

FOURTH DYNASTY.—HOUSE OF VALOIS.—STRUGGLE FOR THE FRENCH CROWN FOR 120 YEARS.

The Middle Ages, with its crusades, its chivalry, and its feudality, had come to an end in France. The papacy was captive at Avignon, and the sons of villeins took their seats at the States-General face to face with the clerics and nobles.

Philip, son of Charles of Valois, cousin-german to the last three kings of France, took the crown and title (1328—1350).

Isabella, queen of England, and daughter of Philip le Bel, claimed the crown for her son Edward III., who was then only sixteen; whilst Philip, at thirty-six, was in the prime of life, beloved well, a brave soldier, and well-trained in all that suited his rank, of a noble and agreeable presence—for the violent and vindictive side of his character had not as yet been displayed—thus all wishes were in his favour. The pretensions of Edward were set aside by the barons, who declared that a woman could not transmit a right which she did not herself possess. Isabella protested in vain, and her son kept his resentment for a future day of vengeance, and in the meanwhile offered homage to Philip VI. for his duchy of Guyenne. The victory of Cassel (1328), which Philip gained for the Earl of Flanders over his revolted subjects, gave to the house of Valois the aureole of glory. Never since Charlemagne had the King of France been so powerful or so prosperous. The commerce and industry of the kingdom had increased under favouring circumstances, and a brilliant court shed lustre throughout the kingdom. It was at this apparently fortunate period that the dreadful war broke out which for more than a century was to desolate the country, and throw back France into chaos.

CAUSES OF THE WAR OF ONE HUNDRED YEARS.

Edward had kept with regret his claims to the crown of France in abeyance, and Philip was well aware of the smouldering ambition which, at any opportunity, might burst forth into open rupture. The French king, therefore, sought to keep up the resistance of the Scotch against Edward, and gave them his assistance; and when one of the princes of the blood, Robert d'Artois, accused of sorcery, fled to England, where he urged Edward to declare war with France (1334), there was another more powerful reason which induced Edward to take this step. The Flemish people were English in heart, whilst Louis de Nevers, their earl, was French. In 1336, Louis was driven away, and Arteweld, a popular chief, invoked the aid of Edward, giving him, at the same time, the advice to take the title of King of France. During the civil war in Brittany, in which the pretensions of Charles of Blois to the duchy were sustained by France, and that of the Count de Montfort by England, a perfidy on the part of Philip induced Edward to revenge it. Olivier de Clisson, and fourteen Breton knights, who had engaged their faith to the King of England, were invited by Philip to a grand tournament

at Paris, and then without any form traitorously seized and beheaded. Edward, with a considerable army, disembarked the 22nd July, 1346, at La Hogue St. Vaast, in the Cotentin, Normandy, and without trouble he took possession of Barfleur, Cherbourg, Valognes, and St. Lô. On the 26th he entered Caen, Louviers next was taken, until he advanced almost within sight of Paris. Philip, in the meanwhile, had assembled a large army and marched against the invaders, who retreated towards Ponthieu, beyond the Somme; but the fords had been fortified and guarded, so that Edward determined at once to give battle upon the slope of a hill near Crécy.

Philip had quitted Abbeville on the morning of the 26th of August, 1346; rain was falling heavily during the whole march. Four knights who had been sent forward to reconnoitre returned, saying that the English were waiting in the position they had chosen; they advised the king to allow his army to rest for the night before giving battle. Philip ordered a halt. But the great nobles of France who commanded the different corps, desired out of vanity to pass each other in order to encamp as near the English as possible. Neither the king nor the marshals could prevent this, for there was a great number of nobles, and each wished to show his power and prowess. They rode in this disorderly manner until within sight of their enemies. As soon as the English saw the approach of the French, they rose in great order, and, without fear, ranged themselves in their ranks. When King Philip came to the spot where the English were awaiting an attack, the blood rushed to his face, for he hated them much, and he said to his marshals, "Send forward the Genoese and begin the battle in the name of God and of Monseigneur St. Denis."

The rain, which had never ceased to fall heavily, had put the crossbows of the Genoese bowmen out of condition for use also. "They were fatigued with their march of six leagues over a heavy road, fully armed, and carrying their arbaletes (crossbows), and said to their leader, They were not in a condition to do any great exploit in battle." The Count d'Alençon rebuked them severely, and being ordered to attack, they did so with considerable resolution. The English had waited in silence, and having hidden their bows under their capes, now discharged a hail-storm of arrows; Edward had interspersed amongst his archers bombardiers, who threw heated balls of iron to terrify and kill the horses, and the noise of these bombs was so great that it seemed as if God thundered, with great massacre of people and overthrowing of horses. The Genoese lost courage

and gave way; but a hedge of French men-at-arms closed up their retreat, and the king shouted, "Kill them, the ribald crew, for they block up the road without reason." The old blind king, John of Bohemia, had his horse led into the very thick of the fight, and there bravely met his death. The French princes who had fatally compromised the issue of the battle by their rashness, did not spare themselves. They traversed the first English division and the men-at-arms commanded by the Prince of Wales, better known in our history as the Black Prince. There was a moment of doubtful mêlée. Edward, who watched the field from an eminence near a mill, judged there was no necessity to send succour as he was advised, replying, "That he would allow the boy to gain his spurs, and that the honour of the day should be his." The cannon which were first used in this battle frightened more than they damaged, but the arrows of the English archers and the lances of the men-at-arms did fearful havoc. At length Philip de Valois was hurried off the field of battle, and he arrived during the night at the Château de Braye, where, knocking at the gates, he shouted, "Open, open to the unfortunate King of France." The defeat was complete; 11 princes, 80 bannerets, 1200 knights, and 30,000 soldiers were left upon the field, besides two corps of militia, which fell the next day into the hands of the English and were totally destroyed.

SEIGE OF CALAIS (A.D. 1347).

After this glorious victory, Edward had still to retreat in order to secure a port from whence he could get reinforcements from England. He marched towards Calais and began the siege the 3rd September, 1346. Philip slowly assembled an army at Amiens, and in July 1347, finding all the roads occupied, broke it up and dispersed. The unfortunate citizens of Calais, reduced to extremity, and now hopeless of succour, implored the generosity of King Edward, who at length consented to treat if six bourgeois, dressed only in a shirt with a halter round their neck, should deliver to him the keys of the town and castle. When John de Vienne, who had bravely defended the town for a year, returned to Calais with this answer from Edward III., he had the bells rung to assemble the people in the market-place. "At the sound of the bell came men and women, some so overcome with famine they could hardly walk, but who much desired to hear news. When they heard the report they began to weep

and lament, so that the hardest heart would have felt pity. A little after rose up the richest citizen of the town, Eustache de St. Pierre, and voluntarily offered himself for the service. Another honourable man named the Sire Jean d'Aire, said he would bear company with his compeer Eustache. A third then rose, the Sire Jacques de Vissant, also rich in goods and possessions. Pierre de Vissant, his brother, next joined, and then the sixth. Eustache and his noble compeers did not perish, though Edward was long inflexible; at length the queen, Philippa, of Hainault, threw herself on her knees before the king and said, "Ah, gentil



CITIZENS OF CALAIS.

sire, since I crossed the sea, at great peril, as you know, I have asked of you no favour, now I humbly pray you to accord, for the sake of the Son of Mary, and the affection you bear to me, mercy to these six men." The king did not at once reply, but the sight of the weeping Philippa softened his heart, and he replied: "Ah, dame, I wish you had been elsewhere; I dare not refuse you, though I grant your request with regret. They are yours, do as you like with them." The good lady answered, "Monseigneur—très grand merci."

The two adversaries were tired of the war, and Clement VI. offered to mediate between them; a truce was signed for ten months, each retaining possession of what they had.

1348. To the calamity of war was added that of pestilence.

The black plague, or the pest of Florence, ravaging a great part of Europe penetrated into France. In many places out of twenty men, two only would survive. At the Hôtel Dieu, of Paris, the mortality was such that for a long period 500 corpses were daily carried to the cemetery of the Innocents. Many millions perished in France; 80,000 died in Paris, and nearly a third of the inhabitants of Europe. The Jews were accused of poisoning the wells and fountains, and several were burned without the government offering any interference. As a *sanitary measure* Philip ordered that every blasphemer should have first one lip cut off, then the other, and lastly the tongue for each blasphemy! Almost the last act of Philip was to buy Dauphiny of Humbert, Count of Vienne; Montpellier was also acquired by purchase. At this period, when royalty was acquiring absolute power, an English monk, Roger Bacon, who died during Philip le Bel's reign, had invented or discovered gunpowder, the composition of which had long been known in the east, and was used by the Arabs in Spain from the 13th century. Philip died the 22nd of August, **1350**, at the age of fifty-eight. He left two sons, John, and Philip of Orleans.

CHAPTER XXXV.

JOHN II. THE GOOD (A.D. 1350—1364).

JOHN succeeded Philip when thirty-one years of age. Like his father, he was impetuous and violent, brave and prodigal; but a bad king. A new expedition was undertaken by Edward III., and the Black Prince, **1355**. The king was besieging the little town of Bretaine, in the possession of Navarre, Charles le Mauvais, when he heard that the Black Prince was ravaging the country with 2000 men-at-arms and 6000 archers, that he had crossed the Garonne and Dordogne, and that he had sacked Auvergne, the Limousin, and Berry. John rapidly advanced towards the Loire, and reached Poitiers so as to occupy the road to Bordeaux before the English arrived. The Black Prince took up a position on the summit of a rise, covered with vineyards intersected with bushes and hedges, called at the present day the Field of Maupertuis. King John commanded the most brilliant army that France had ever seen. The two marshals of France, Arnould d'Andeneham, and John of Clermont, at the head of

300 of the élite of the army, instead of turning the strong position of the enemy rushed towards the front up the narrow road which led to the plateau. The archers, as usual, did their work effectually, and the maddened horses of the knights proved unmanageable. In a few minutes disorder spread amongst them; and the fugitives, falling back upon the advancing corps commanded by the dauphin, caused a panic. The Black Prince, at the head of 600 men-at-arms whom he had kept in reserve on the other side of the hill, now charged the fugitives in flank, with cries of "St. George and Guyenne." The panic and rout became general. The king defended himself bravely; his youngest son, Philip le Hardi, kept near his father, though his elder brothers had fled; as each assailant attacked the king he cried, "Father, guard yourself on the right, guard yourself on the left." Every one ambitioned to secure the king, but alive; at length, John surrendered to a gentleman of Artois. The action, which had commenced at dawn, was over by noon. 11,000 French lay dead upon the field of Maupertius, the English having lost only 2,500. The captive king was treated with chivalrous respect by the Black Prince, who served him with his own hands, and would not seat himself at the table with the king, although John prayed him to do so.

The news of this crushing disaster spread consternation and anger throughout France. Ten days later, the dauphin, Charles, Duke of Normandy, came to Paris, and took the title of Lieutenant of the King of France. Etienne Marcel, provost of the tradesmen of Paris, took the lead in a formidable insurrection, and put to death two of the ministers of the dauphin—the Marshals of Champagne and of Normandy. This greatly irritated the nobles against the citizens of Paris, who had dared to lay their hands on men of illustrious birth, and they offered their services to the dauphin against the rebels of Paris, which he accepted. This was a declaration of war, and civil war commenced.

The dauphin at the head of 7,000 lances lived upon the country, occupying sometimes one place, again another as it best suited his purpose, which was to intercept all that was on the road to Paris in the way of merchandize and provisions. Marcel had taken possession of the Louvre, placed a cannon on the fortification, dug a moat, and made all the preparations for resistance.

THE JACQUERIE (A.D. 1358).

It was upon the peasantry that the misfortunes of war fell most heavily. The towns and castles had little to fear from the *matiers*, but the villages were the prey of these bands of armed marauders. Jacques Bonhomme said, "They will not part with their money unless roughly handled." Thus both friends and foes were equally pitiless to the poor helpless peasants. When they heard that the bourgeois had taken up arms against the nobles, they thought it a good occasion to avenge and repay their long account of suffering; they armed, and attacked the castles. The most frightful scenes took place. They left nothing but blood and ashes wherever they passed. 100,000 of these infuriated wretches had assembled in Champagne and Picardy alone, and they intended to exterminate every one of noble blood throughout the land. These, at first surprised, assembled together; and a pitiless cruel war began. Marcel leagued with the Jacquerie, and sent them two companies of his militia; this commenced the union of the townspeople with the country people. They marched upon Meaux together, in the citadel of which many noble families had sought refuge. The Jacques were defeated, then tracked in every direction and exterminated. The terrible souvenirs of these atrocities left its impression for centuries, and the name of Jacquerie is used as synonymous with everything savage and adverse to society and order.

Marcel had reckoned on the support of the peasants, but they were exterminated. He next relied upon the King of Navarre, Charles the Bad, whom he had released from prison. Paris offered him the title of Captain, but his hatred of the bourgeois made him a dangerous ally, for when the dauphin appeared under the walls of Paris, Charles of Navarre sought an interview with him, and concluded a treaty to deliver up the town and Marcel. But the wily provost promised to deliver to Charles of Navarre the Bastile and gate of St. Denis, and thus make him master of Paris. This project was discovered by the friends of the dauphin amongst the chiefs, and one of them, Jean Maillart, killed Marcel with a blow of his axe, and the day after the dauphin entered Paris leaning on the arm of Jean Maillart, and once more Paris became a docile and royal city.

The dauphin was once more master of Paris; but France was in a wretched condition, both French and English *sauvages* infested the roads. The poor people had to make of every belfrey a kind

of fortress : at night they resorted to boats anchored in the middle of rivers, or they dug subterranean hiding-places for themselves and their cattle ; work was at a stand still ; the harvest suffered, and famine menaced the country as another scourge. Negotiations and peace were necessary at any cost ; besides four millions of écus in gold as ransom for the king, the better half of France with the mouths of all its rivers had to be ceded to the King of England—such was the treaty signed by John at Windsor, but the dauphin rejected the humiliating terms.

Five months later, Edward disembarked at Calais with his sons and all the great barons of England, 6000 suits of armour, 6000 waggons loaded with provisions, mills, ovens, forges, tents, and all that was requisite to carry on a long campaign agreeably ; even to falcons and packs of hounds for the chase, and for fishing, during Lent. There were such a vast multitude of men-at-arms that the whole country was covered, and so richly armed and decorated that it was marvellous to see the brilliancy of their armour and their waving banners. . . . There were besides 500 varlets with spade and axe, who advanced in front of the army to open the roads and cut away the thorns and bushes for the vehicles to pass along without impediment. The march of the English army met with no opposition, without hastening it traversed the country from Châlons to Bar-le-Duc, from Troyes to Tonnerre. The Duke of Burgundy bought exemption from pillage by paying 200,000 écus of gold. Edward then turned towards Paris. He sent heralds to the dauphin to offer battle, but it was refused. Charles adopted a new system of war. The bourgeois shut up in fortified towns, the nobles in their castles allowed the storm to pass themselves in safety. The poor peasants alone were unprotected and without means of defence. Edward, tired of this passive resistance which offered neither glory nor gain, began to think of making peace. The dauphin was equally anxious to rid himself of the English, for "France was in her death-throes, and if this lasted much longer she must succumb."

Negotiations were opened at Bretigny, near Chartres, in May, 1360. The ransom of the king, John, was fixed at three millions of écus in gold ; hostages were delivered, and the Duchy of Aquitaine was ceded as an independent sovereignty with Calais and the comtés of Ponthieu and of Guines and the vicomté of Montreuil.

John returned to France and passed six months at Avignon. The pope made a proposition which pleased the adventurous

imagination of the king. This was to undertake another crusade, and thus draw off from France all the devastating bands of armed men. He would probably have embarked in this enterprise had not one of his sons, the Duke of Anjou, escaped from the hands of the English, with whom he was left as hostage, and John, rather than tarnish the honour of his house, resolved to go in lieu of his son. He once more returned to London, and died there the following spring, April, 1364, being only forty-four years old. One of his last acts was to cede to his son, Philip le Hardi, the duchy of Burgundy, which, the following century, proved almost the ruin of France.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

CHARLES V., LE SAGE (A.D. 1364—1384).

At twenty-seven years of age, Charles the Wise inherited the crown in very troublesome times. He had given hitherto little proof of future promise. He was the first at Poitiers to seek safety in flight, and in policy he had appeared equally timid.

The feebleness of his constitution appeared to unfit him for the arduous task of governing, especially at such an unfortunate period. Happily a whole phalanx of great captains and brave men were soon to cast a glory on her arms which at that time France sadly needed. Two illustrious Bretons, Bertrand Duguesclin and Olivier de Clisson, earned an undying celebrity in arms, besides many others, men of hard blows, who, unlike the paladins of a previous age, comprehended that war is an art: at the same time they held the point of honour in less esteem than a good stratagem if it gave them the victory. With such men the prudent king was able from his cabinet to direct his wary yet brave captains in a system of warfare apparently inglorious but which in the end resulted in the territorial reconstruction of the kingdom.

A wise economy soon placed Charles in a position to recommence the war with Edward, whose successes had probably made him many enemies. Charles renewed the old alliance of France and Scotland, to which the two people attributed already an existence of 600 years. He married his brother, Philip le Hardi of Burgundy, to the heiress of Flanders; the earldom of which Edward intended for his son, the Count of Cambridge. He drew

the King of Navarre, before undecided, to his side, and overthrew Peter the Cruel of Castile, for whom the Black Prince had fought in Spain. It was Duguesclin who beat Pedro at Montel, A.D. 1369, and replaced Henry of Transtamare on the throne of Castile. These successes and alliances gave Charles sufficient confidence to defy the English. He sent a letter to Edward by a valet of his kitchens, who penetrated to Westminster, and gave it into the king's hands in full parliament. Charles also convoked the states-general, and confiscated the duchy of Aquitaine and the other territories the English king possessed in France. Once more an English army disembarked at Calais, and a large French army under the orders of the Duke of Burgundy went to meet them, but refused all engagement, retiring as they advanced. The towns were well guarded, and not one taken in a second campaign, A.D. 1370. The same strange system of avoiding to come to blows was adhered to. Charles shut up in his Hôtel de St. Pol could perceive the burning villages around Paris. Clisson said to the king, "Sire, it is needless to employ your people against these mad English, let them wear themselves out; they will not drive you from your inheritance with all their smoke."

After the death of the Black Prince, whose last exploit was the taking of Limoges, during the sack of which 3000 persons of all ages were put to the sword—a sad blot on his name—the fortune of France began to revive, Duguesclin entered Poitiers—La Rochelle was retaken; 30,000 men, under the Duke of Lancaster, disembarked at Calais, 1373, and traversed France without opposition. When in the rich provinces of the north they fared well, but in the poorer central provinces their privation brought on illness, and by the time they reached Bordeaux their number had decreased to 6000 men and no horses. After the death of Edward III., Charles retook Guyenne, and in 1380 the towns of Bayonne, Bordeaux, Brest, Cherbourg, and Calais were all that remained of the brilliant conquests of Edward and his son.

Charles, notwithstanding his economy, was a great builder. He commenced the Bastille, repaired and enlarged the walls of Paris, and the Louvre of Philip Augustus, erected the hotel of St. Pol, whose gardens reached the Seine, several châteaux, and the chapel of Vincennes. He thought of uniting by a canal the Loire and the Seine, realized two centuries later by Henri IV. He encouraged letters, had translations made of the Bible, St. Augustine, Aristotle, and Livy. He collected 910 volumes, which formed the commencement of the royal library of Paris,

and erected a college of astronomy and medicine. Amongst the men of letters of his reign the name of Froissart is the most popular. His book is one of his most precious monuments of the history of his times.

(1380). A treaty was signed between England and Brittany. Charles had declared that the duchy had become his fief, but the Bretons did not choose to be disposed of in this manner; even the old Duguesclin sent back his sword of constable to the king. Another English army crossed into France, under the Earl of Buckingham, and traversed the north of France without check; but the English had not reached Brittany when Charles died at Vincennes, 1380, at the age of forty-three, leaving a son of only twelve years of age to succeed him.

CHARLES VI. (A.D. 1380—1422).

During the last moments of Charles the Wise, the eldest of his brothers, the Duke of Anjou, who was to act as regent, kept hidden in a neighbouring room, and as soon as his brother had ceased to breath, took possession of the crown jewels. The treasure in money and in ingots of gold and silver were sealed up in the walls as stones in the castle of Melun by masons who were made away with as soon as their task had been completed. His brothers, the Dukes of Burgundy and of Berry, were equally rapacious.

WAR IN FLANDERS.—BATTLE OF ROSSBECQUE (A.D. 1382).

For more than a quarter of a century the spirit of revolt seemed to influence the whole bourgeois class in every country. The enterprise of Rienzi at Rome, of Wat Tyler in England, of Etienne Marat at Paris, of Arteweld in Flanders, of the Jacques and others, gave reason to fear, as Froissart says, "that all gentleness and nobleness should be killed out and lost in France as in other countries."

One day the Dukes of Burgundy and of Berry were talking together of the perils of the situation and of the necessity of intervention in Flanders, where the people under the leadership of Philip Arteweld were carrying out the policy of his father, the famous brewer, in favour of freedom of government and alliance with England. Deputies from the towns of Ghent, Ypres, and Bruges had been sent to offer the crown of France to Richard II. of England, if he would come to their aid. The dukes were of opinion that the revolt should be struck down at once. The

young king came in with his hawk on his wrist as they were conversing on the subject. "Eh bien," said he, "mes beaux oncles—what is the subject of your consultation?" "Ah, monseigneur," said the Duke of Berry, "my brother of Burgundy complains that those people of Flanders have driven away their lord from his inheritance and all the gentlemen, and have as captain one called Arteweld, a true Englishman in courage, who is now besieging a great number of gentlemen, shut up in Oudenarde, who will never depart from thence, unless by your intervention." "By my faith," replied the king, "I have great will to help them, and for God's sake, let us go there!" A large army was soon equipped. All the towns of Flanders submitted at its approach. The people of Ghent had no resource but to fight a decisive battle, as they had done at Bruges, and as they hoped to do at Rosbecque, the 27th November, 1382. They tied each other together in order that none should retreat, and they advanced in one battalion, but the wings of the French army circled this immovable corps and attacked it in flank. The disorder was extreme, and there remained 26,000 dead upon the place, amongst them Arteweld and his men of Ghent. The nobles had here taken revenge for their defeat at Courtray (1302). A clock appropriated by the Duke of Burgundy from the cathedral of Courtray is still to be seen at Dijon in the church of Nôtre Dame.

The bourgeoisie of Paris were treated with equal rigour, for they were known to participate in all the sentiments of the rebels of Flanders, and for some time after the return of the king from thence there was nothing but arrests and executions. The citizens of many other towns were treated in the same manner, and above all enormous fines were extorted which went to enrich the uncles of the king. The Earl of Flanders died 1384, and his son-in-law, the Duke of Burgundy, inherited all his vast domains; henceforward all the affections of the house of Burgundy were to be centred in these rich provinces, which were to alienate them from France. The Duke of Anjou, who had taken possession of the kingdom of Naples, also died this year in Italy, and his army was dispersed.

The war in Flanders being terminated, the princes thought that owing to the feeble character of Richard II. the moment would be favourable for an invasion of England. As many vessels were assembled as would form a bridge between Calais and Dover, and a whole town of wood, to form an entrenched camp, which could be put together piece by piece, and required

seventy-two vessels to transport it across the straits; but the season passed, and all the fine preparations were lost and made no use of. Enormous sums were lavished on this and similar expeditions which ended in nothing. The bad government of the king's uncles came to an end, and the ancient counsellors of Charles the Wise took their place, but the jealousy of the great nobles led to the attempted assassination of the excellent Olivier de Clisson, the chief of them. He was attacked in the streets of Paris by Pierre de Craon, a personal enemy of his, and forty brigands, shouting "A mort, à mort, Clisson!" He fell wounded, his head coming in contact with the door of a baker's shop which gave way. The connétable was dragged within, whilst Craon and his brigands fled to his castle of Sablé-in-Maine. When the king heard of this attempt at assassination, he called his guards, and with lighted torches was escorted to the house of the baker. "Connétable," said the king, "how fares it with thee?" "But feebly, cher sire." "And who has put thee in this condition?" "Sire, Pierre de Craon and his accomplices traitorously." "Constable, nothing shall be so dearly paid for as this and expiated."

De Craon, not feeling safe in his château of Sablé, took refuge in Brittany, where he was hidden by the duke, who, when demanded by the king to be given up, pretended that he knew nothing of him. The king collected an army, and swore he would take no repose until he had punished all these rebellions. The Dukes of Burgundy and Berry wished to prevent the war, but the king took his army to Mans, notwithstanding the fears of his doctors respecting his health. It was during the great heat of August that, while passing through a forest, a man dressed in white suddenly threw himself in front of the king, seizing his horse by the reins, crying, "Stop, noble king! Do not advance! Thou art betrayed!" This sudden apparition startled the king. A short time after one of his pages had fallen asleep; he carried the king's lance, which fell from his relaxed grasp, and struck against a casque. At the clash of arms Charles started, drew his sword and cried, "Sus, sus, aux traitres!" He rushed with naked sword upon his brother, the Duke of Orleans, who with difficulty avoided it. One of his knights seized him from behind and disarmed him. The king was mad.

The uncles of the king were once more at the head of the government. They signed a truce with England of twenty-eight years, 1396, and gave a daughter of Charles VI. in marriage to

Richard II. This alliance, however, proved useless, as the king was deposed, 1399, and put to death in prison.

The Ottoman Turks at this time menaced Christianity. Their sultan, Bajazet, had sworn to make his horse eat oats upon the high altar of St. Peter's, at Rome. A crusade was undertaken under the command of Jean-sans-Peur, Count of Nevers and Duke of Burgundy. The King of Hungary, Sigismund, seems to have had more discretion than the rest of the leaders, who considered the crusade rather an agreeable excursion than serious warfare. He counselled them to keep back their knights in reserve, when they were near Nicopolis (A.D. 1396), and to send forward only light cavalry; but none of the knights would give up the honour of striking the first blow. They threw themselves upon the first enemy they encountered, and arrived on the summit of a hill out of breath and in disorder, to be met by the terrible Janissaries, who found it an easy matter to overcome them. Bajazet had 10,000 captives killed in his presence. None were excepted but the Count de Nevers and twenty-four nobles, who were to be ransomed.

Jean-sans-Peur succeeded his father, Philip le Hardi, as Duke of Burgundy (A.D. 1404), and wished to have also with his inheritance his father's influence in the government; but the brother of the king, the Duke of Orleans, was all powerful, and master alike of the king, the dauphin, and the queen, Isabeau de Bavière. The rivalry between these two nobles almost amounted to civil war within the walls of Paris. Each assembled his troops and partisans, and fortified his hotel, but the old Duke de Berry stopped the combatants, and brought about a reconciliation. He made them embrace, and then take the holy communion together, and afterwards eat at the same table. This was on the 20th November, 1407. The 23rd November, Louis of Orleans died, assassinated by Jean-sans-Peur.

During four months he meditated this crime. He bought a house as if for the purpose of placing in it stores of wine, corn, and other provisions. In this house he hid seventeen spadassins, men ready to commit any iniquity for a bribe. This house was in the street Vieille du Temple, near the gate Barbette, and was situated on the road followed by the duke between the palace of the king and his own hotel. The Wednesday evening, 23rd November, about eight o'clock, in a very sombre evening, the duke left the Hôtel Montaigne mounted on a mule, and having with him two esquires, both on one horse, and four or five valets on foot, carrying torches. All the shops were shut, though it

was still early. The duke followed his people, singing in a low voice, and playing with his glove. Suddenly the spadassins sprang upon him, shouting, "A mort! à mort!" "I am the Duke of Orleans." "It is he that we want," they replied, whilst striking him. A page who threw himself before the prince was killed. A woman of the people witnessed the deed from a window, and cried for help, but the crime was effectually carried out, and she saw, by the light of the torches, a tall man in a red hat come out of the house which had been bought by the Duke of Burgundy. When he had made sure that his victim was no more, he said, "Put out your lights and let us go; he is dead." They then fired the house they had occupied, and retired to the Hôtel d'Artois, in the street Mauconseil.

The next day Jean-sans-Peur went with the other princes to visit the poor defunct at the Church of the Blancs Manteaux, and sprinkled it with holy water, saying, "Never has there been a more traitorous murder committed!"

The Duchess of Orleans, the gentle and beautiful Valentine Visconti, died of grief the following year, 1408. She took as the motto in her bereavement the touching sentiment, "*Rien ne m'est plus; plus ne m'est rien.*"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FACTIONS OF THE BURGUNDIANS AND ARMAGNACS.

THE character of the Duke of Orleans was not such as to make him generally regretted, and his administration had been deplorably bad. He had declared war with England, as a pretext for levying taxes, which he appropriated, and then declined the war. The Duke of Burgundy now endeavoured to court popularity by opposing these measures, and by giving back to the Parisians their old free constitution. He had warm partisans, therefore, amongst the bourgeoisie and people. The nobles could not pardon this, especially in one who had stained his hands with the blood of a royal prince. A considerable party of the nobles determined to avenge themselves upon the murderer of the Duke of Orleans, and the Count of Armagnac, father-in-law of one of the sons of the murdered duke, gave his name to the faction. Thus the state of things could hardly be more desperate. The king a maniac; the queen, Isabeau, despised

and incapable; the dauphin likely to end as his father, in madness; the first prince of the blood stained with an infamous murder; no government; partisan feuds; and both within and without nothing but war and disorder. Such was the state of France.

This state of civil war led to constant fighting and pillage. At length, in a lucid moment, the bourgeoisie obtained of Charles to confine all the princes within their own territories. The Armagnacs committed every atrocity, telling their victims to seek vengeance from their "*pauvre fol de roi*." The Parisians asked to have their city defended by a friend of the Duke of Burgundy, the Count de St. Pol. He was supported by the rich corporation of the butchers, who raised 500 men as a guard for the city. They armed their valets, their slaughterers, their skinners, &c., and this scum of society, accustomed to blood and the taking of life, had as leader one of their own trade, named Caboché.

As usual, when the populace gain the upper hand, their demands for reform are mingled with pillage, murder and demoralization, until all that is good in the beginning ends in riot and revolt against all authority. So it was with the Cabochins. The Armagnacs were called in to put a stop to the excesses of the populace, September, 1413, and Jean-sans-Peur hastened to his Flemish provinces; but, pursued by the victorious Armagnacs, he promised not to return to Paris, and signed the Treaty of Arras (A.D. 1413).

Whilst Armagnacs and Burgundians were killing each other, Henry V. of England thought the moment propitious to join in the *mêlée*. A war with France was always popular at that time in England, and parliament readily voted 6000 men-at-arms, and 24,000 archers. With this army the king disembarked at Harfleur, 13th August, 1415. After taking Harfleur, Henry resolved to march across the country to Calais, from which he could receive supplies. He left Harfleur the 8th October, and traversed the country of Caux, Normandy. The 13th he reached Abbeville, to cross the Somme; but the ford at Blantagne was so well guarded he continued along the banks of the river to Amiens. Near Nesle a countryman showed the English a ford beyond a marsh, a difficult and dangerous passage. The army would have been lost, had it been attacked during the crossing, but the French were far behind; besides, the nobles preferred an open field, and a fair fight. The princes asked Henry to fix the day and the place for the combat, to which the English

king replied, "It was unnecessary to name either day or place, as every day he could be found in the open field."

Notwithstanding this reply, they feared the enemy would escape them, and, to cut off all chance of his getting away, the princes took up their position between the villages of Tramecourt and Agincourt, in a narrow plain just ploughed up and saturated with rain, where it was impossible for their 50,000 men, of whom 40,000 were mounted, to find room to develop and manœuvre. The constable, D'Albret, had disposed his army into three corps, but each wished to take the front. There were cannon and archers; but they did not come into use, for the front was filled by the knights and highest nobility.

AGINCOURT.

The battle was commenced by the English archers, who let fly a hailstorm of arrows. This met with no reply. What with the yielding soil, the heavy armour of man and horse, and the great pressure, the knights could scarcely find space enough to raise their arms to strike. At length 1200 men got clear of this mass, and advanced against the enemy. These were assailed by a troop of archers, who had laid in wait in a neighbouring wood. Many of the unfortunate men-at-arms, unable to keep their footing, fell into the mud. They returned in disorder, followed by the archers, who, with their sharp axes, cut down men and horses. The rear of the army took to flight, without having joined in the battle. The English lost only 1600 men, the French 10,000, amongst whom were seven princes, the constable, D'Albret, and 120 lords bannerets; also 1500 prisoners, amongst them the Dukes of Orleans and of Bourbon, the Counts of Eu, of Vendôme, and of Richemont. With this rich capture, Henry re-embarked for England at Calais, his army being insufficient for further enterprise, as he had lost nearly 15,000 men during the siege of Harfleur. An English writer says: "The wars of Henry V. were amongst the greatest crimes that disgrace the annals of Christendom; and they drew upon England, in her own civil wars, one of the most swift and fearful examples of providential retribution. Henry himself, though a lion-hearted captain, has no place among the great masters of the art of war."

MASSACRE OF THE ARMAGNACS.

The Duke of Burgundy had taken no part in the battle of

Agincourt. It was his enemies who had undergone the disgrace of defeat; but, before he could reach Paris, the Count of Armagnac, the new constable, took possession of the capital, of the king, and the young dauphin. Armagnac levied troops, and laid siege to Harfleur (1416); but need of money led him to debase the coinage and to forced loans. Paris murmured, and Jean-sans-Peur, the would-be patron of the poor, to increase the fermentation, stopped the arrival of provisions to the capital. He declared the queen, Isabeau, regent of the kingdom, and negotiated with the English, who had returned to France. Henry had taken Caen (1417), and signed a treaty of neutrality with the Dukes of Brittany, of Anjou, and of Burgundy. The Parisians, who hated Armagnac, now determined to betray him. The son of Perrinet Leclerc, a dealer in iron, and who had charge of the gate of Saint Germain, took the keys from under his father's pillow as he slept, and opened the gate to the Burgundian, the Sire de l'Isle d'Adam, with a body of 800 men. A few of the Armagnacs, with the dauphin, fled, but the greater number, the constable among them, were secured. On the Sunday, the 12th June, 1418, the populace rushed in blind fury to the prisons, to the Hôtel de Ville, the Temple, to St. Eloi, St. Magloire, St. Martin, the great and little châtelet, to massacre, without distinction, all they should find, Armagnac or not; 1600 perished.

These terrible scenes were enacting as Jean-sans-Peur returned to Paris with Isabeau as regent, and were received with clamorous enthusiasm by the crowd. An epidemic followed upon all these horrors, and carried off 50,000 persons. The Parisian mob became once more maddened to fury, as they found no cessation to their misery. An immense assemblage united under the command of the executioner, Capeluche, and fell upon the prisons. The Duke of Burgundy conjured them to withhold, but another massacre took place. A few days after, the duke sent them out of Paris to besiege the Armagnacs shut up in the strong castle of Montlhéry. As soon as they were outside the walls, he ordered the gates to be shut, and beheaded Capeluche.

The Duke of Burgundy was now master of Paris, but how was he to feed or control the famished citizens, or make head against the English? Henry had already taken possession of Lower Normandy, Falaise, Vire, St. Lo, Coutances, Evreux, and carried his ravages into the heart of the kingdom. Rouen, in spite of the valour of its inhabitants and the efforts of the heroic

Alain Blanchard, chief of the Arbaletriers, had fallen into his power (1419). The Duke of Burgundy made propositions of peace, but finding the demands of Henry too excessive Jean-sans-Peur conjured the dauphin to unite himself with him. They met the 11th July, but the old rumour and perhaps doubts of his sincerity induced Jean to turn towards the English. At length the partisans of the dauphin, afterwards Charles VI., resolved to put an end to a prince who might deliver over the kingdom to strangers. The 10th September, 1419, the Duke of Burgundy was invited to an interview with the dauphin on the bridge of Montreau where the Yonne falls into the Seine, and was murdered by Tanneguy Duchâtel and the followers of the prince. This assassination completed what Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt had only rendered possible: it gave the crown of France to the King of England. The Treaty of Troyes (1420) was concluded between Henry V. and Isabeau, which disinherited the Dauphin Charles, and gave the crown to Henry and the Princess Catherine of France, whom he married.

A long and vigorous resistance followed, and showed Henry that conquest would be slow and laborious. Already out of health, when at the siege of Meaux news was brought to him of the birth of a son at Windsor, he is reported to have said with sadness, "Henry of Monmouth has reigned little but conquered much; Henry of Windsor will reign long but lose all. The will of God be done."

When still young, Henry expired, the 14th of August, 1422; seven weeks after Charles VI. died, mourned and regretted by the people, for though his reign had been so unfortunate, he too had suffered as they had.

In this reign France obtained the convocation of a general council which assembled at Constance (1414—1418). The popes, John XXII. and Benoit XIII., were deposed to put an end to the schism which disturbed Christianity, and replaced by Martin V., and to prevent future schism the general councils were made superior to the pope. At the same time, John Huss and Jerome of Prague were condemned as heretics. Jean Gerson, Chancellor of the University of Paris, erroneously thought to be the author of the "Imitation of Christ," lived at this time.

In 1402, the king's letters-patent were accorded to the bourgeoisie of Paris to form a religious confraternity for the representation of the mystery of the Passion. It was the origin of modern tragedy; the moralities were in like manner the origin of modern comedy.

John van Eyck, called John of Bruges, discovered about 1420 a siccative oil, from which discovery he is considered to be the inventor of painting in oils. Before then the means used were distemper, fresco, gum, glue, or white of egg.

The last judicial duel took place in this reign under the eyes of the court. The bodies of those executed were given for this purpose.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

CHARLES VII.—HENRY VI.

THE king proclaimed at St. Denis was an infant of ten months old, grandson of Charles VI. by his mother, the Princess Catherine. The Duke of Bedford, his uncle, was to administer the affairs of France; his uncle, the Duke of Gloucester, those of England. At the same time that the infant Henry was proclaimed by the French king-at-arms, a few French knights unfurled the royal banner in Berry, exclaiming, "Long live King Charles, seventh of that name, by the grace of God King of France!"

This only surviving son of Charles VI. was a young man of nineteen years, of graceful manners but feeble of body, of pallid countenance, timid and always in terror of a violent death, a good Latinist, and wise in council: at least he became so when long years of probation had passed over him.

By his marriage with Mary of Anjou he had attached to his cause the powerful and valiant house of Lorraine. The Duke of Brittany had become reconciled to France. Charles also sent away from him Tanneguy Duchâtel and his Armagnacs, who prepared with those who had joined the English party the assassination of Jean-sans-Peur on the bridge of Montereau.

The towns of France resisted to the utmost the foreign domination; when besieging Montargis, which lay between them, the Loire was defended three months against the English, and when the inhabitants were at their last extremity the king sent to their aid 1600 men under La Hire and Dunois; on his way there La Hire met a chaplain and asked for absolution. "Make your confession, then," said the priest. "I have not the leisure, for I must attack the English; besides, I have done all that is customary for a soldier to do." The chaplain then gave his absolution, and La Hire went on his knees on the road repeating aloud his brief prayer: "God, I pray Thee act this day towards

La Hire as La Hire would act towards Thee if he were God and Thou wert La Hire." His conscience satisfied, he set upon the English so vigorously that he obliged them to raise the siege.

The following years (1428—1429) Bedford and Salisbury, after mastering all the towns in their road, approached Orleans. This was the gate of Berry, Bourbonnais, Poitou; if taken, the King of Bourges, as Charles was called by the Parisians, would have to retire into Languedoc or Dauphiné. The 12th October, 1428, the English appeared before the walls, and began their preparations for a determined siege, the Earl of Salisbury being commander-in-chief. The Orleanais had expected to be attacked and had prepared for it. Artillery had begun to take a leading part in battles and sieges. The Orleanais possessed seventy pieces, which were served by twelve expert artillerymen: each cannon had its name and especial duty. The good cannon, Biflard, killed its man at each discharge. Master John and his culverine, mounted on a light carriage, moved about picking off one day Lord Grey, another day the marshal of the camp. At last Master John left his culverine loaded during the hour of dinner, for the French must always dine, and a young school-boy applied a match and then in fear ran away. William Glasdale, at that moment, was saying to the Earl of Salisbury, "My lord, you see your town," when the ball fired by the hand of the child from Master John's culverine struck him in the face and killed him. The next day "*Le beau et brave Dunois*" entered the town walls; some of the best knights of the age—La Hire, Zaintrailles, the Marshal de Boussac, and six or seven hundred soldiers and others—followed; soon there were 7000 soldiers in Orleans. Four months passed, and scarcity of provisions began to be felt within the town; the English also needed supplies. It was known that the Duke of Bedford had sent a convoy under Sir John Falstaff, consisting of 2500 soldiers, 300 waggons of munition, provisions, especially herrings for Lenten diet. The Count of Clermont, eldest son of the Duke of Burgundy, proposed to stop the convoy, and assembled 5000 men, which included the flower of the nobility of the Bourbonnais, Berry and Auvergne: they fell in with the English near Rouvray (1429). Sir John Falstaff placed his waggons in a circle, fitted in the intervals with sharp stakes, and the archers were placed within. The French artillery opened fire upon the English barricades and soon made a large breach. The knights now thought the honour of the day should not be all gained by the artillery, got down from their horses, notwithstanding their heavy armour, and ad-

vanced without order to enter the breach. The archers now had



all the advantage, and the French were forced to retreat. The field of battle was strewn with herrings fallen from the barrels which had been stove in by the balls; thus this action was called, "The battle of the herrings." It must be remarked that the French numbered twice as many as the soldiers who accompanied the little English convoy.

In the meanwhile the siege of Orleans continued and be-

WAR HORSE OF THE TIME OF HENRY V. came day by day more critical. Yet the king did not shake off his inertia. At the battle of the herrings the nobles had shown the measure of what they were capable as at Crecy, Poitiers, and Agincourt. The Count of Clermont had left the town after his defeat; other lords and prelates had also gone, and the besieged inhabitants were in despair. In their distress they begged the succour of Philip, the Grand Duke of Burgundy, but his application to the Duke of Bedford met with the brief reply, "He did not intend to beat the bushes that another might take the birds."

The humiliation of France weighed heavily upon the heart of the people, the sentiment of unity or nationality began to awaken, and though the miseries they were suffering issued from many causes, they knew but one, and that was the "English." Their only thought was how to get rid of them, and as man's succour seemed to fail, they began to look to God and some miraculous interposition for their deliverance. This opinion spread abroad throughout France. The kingdom had been given over to foreigners by a woman, a queen, the unworthy Isabeau of Bavaria. It was to be redeemed by a child of the people, and this young, innocent, and heroic maiden was Jeanne d'Arc.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

JEANNE D'ARC (A.D. 1429—1421).

BETWEEN Champagne and Lorraine there was a village called Domrémy, in which a peasant, Jacques d'Arc, and his wife, Isabelle Rommée, were living. They were attached to the party of Charles VII. Jeanne was their third child; she was born 1409, and the first spectacle which met her eyes must have been war, wounds, devastation, and suffering. The people of her village were determined Armagnacs, whilst two leagues from Domrémy was the Burgundian village of Marcy. The men and children of these two bourgs never met without fighting, and often Jeanne d'Arc had dressed the wounds of her three brothers after their encounters. Again, besides these local feuds, parties of English or Burgundians, or bands of routiers would pass; the peasants had either to defend themselves, if they could, or else seek shelter in a neighbouring forest until the storm had passed, and they then returned to repair the damage.



JEANNE D'ARC.

During the long evenings of winter, as she sat plying her needle or her distaff by her mother's side, the talk was still of war and combat; then would follow saintly traditions, pious legends of St. Michael, the archangel of battles, St. Marguerite and St. Catherine, for whom the young peasant devoutly made crowns and garlands of flowers, her own especial saints, on whom her mind dwelt in reverie in the wood under the spreading oaks, or in the shade of the great beech-tree near her dwelling, said to be the rendezvous of fairies. These images were associated in her mind with that of Charles, this poor young king, rejected by his mother, and driven by strangers from his inheritance. This gentle and timid child eagerly sought the church and holy places, confessed herself often, and by maceration of the body still further raised her soul until the interior visions of her mind became external realities. One day in 1423, in summer about noon, being in her garden near the church, she suddenly saw a vivid light, and from the midst proceeded a voice saying, "Jeanne, be a good and wise child, go often to church." Another time she saw in the midst of this light a lovely vision

of angelic beings : one had wings, and he spoke to her, saying, "Jeanne, go, deliver the King of France, and give him back his kingdom." She replied trembling, "Messire, I am but a poor girl, I know not how to command the war." "St. Catherine and St. Margaret will assist thee." She saw again the archangel and the two saints, and heard "*her voices*," as she called them, during four years. She must obey them--but how? Her father had declared he would drown her with his own hands rather than let her go. Her uncle, André Laxart, believed in her mission, and when she was staying in his house at Vaucouleurs he begged the Sieur de Baudricourt to aid her, but the captain received the messenger roughly, telling him, "To give the young girl a box on the ears and send her home." Jeanne was not discouraged. "Before mid-Lent I must be in the presence of the king, though I wear away my legs to the knees in reaching him," she said. She sought the Sieur de Baudricourt and succeeded ; not that he was convinced, but the excitement of the people obliged him to concede the point. A collection was made to equip Jeanne and buy her a horse. Baudricourt gave her a sword. She cut her long hair, put on male attire, and notwithstanding the opposition of her family, left Vaucouleurs at the beginning of February, 1429, under the escort of six men-at-arms.

What a journey at such a time from the banks of the Meuse to those of the Loire, the whole country a prey to brigands or enemies ! But nothing frightened Jeanne. She even sustained the courage of her attendants. "Fear nothing," she said to them, "God is leading me ; for this I was born ; my brothers of paradise tell me what I have to do." On the 24th of February she arrived at Chinon, where Charles was staying. For two days it was undecided whether he should see her or not, but things were going so ill at Orleans, that any means were worth trying to save so important a town.

Jeanne was received in the midst of all the pomp and splendour of royalty, but was not disconcerted. Without effrontery or timidity she recognized at first sight the king, whose image had so long occupied her thoughts, and advanced straight towards him, although he kept behind some of the courtiers, and said to him, "Gentil dauphin, why do you not believe me ? I like you, God has pity on you and on your kingdom and your people, for St. Louis and St. Charlemagne pray before him on their knees for you. If you will give me soldiers I will raise the siege of Orleans. I will lead you to be crowned at Reims,

for it is the pleasure of God that His enemies, the English, should go back to their own country, and that the kingdom remain to you."

The court of Charles did not readily give credence to the miraculous mission of Jeanne. They feared rather it might be a device of the devil to destroy them. Bishops, monks, doctors, and professors of the University of Poitiers solemnly questioned her. "Jeanne, thou sayest God wishes to deliver the people of France, if such is His will He needs no men-at-arms to accomplish it."

"Ah, mon dieu! the men-at-arms will do battle, and God will give the victory."

"How can we put faith in thee without a sign?"

"I am not come to give signs or work miracles, my sign shall be raising the siege of Orleans; give me men-at-arms, few or many, and I will go."

It mattered little how far the court believed if the people were convinced. The popular opinion was all in her favour, the government could not resist the enthusiasm and no longer hesitated; Jeanne was equipped, armed, sent, or as she said, called, to Orleans.

On 29th April, 1429, Jeanne d'Arc entered Orleans with a small escort and a convoy of provisions. The 11th of May she introduced the army, which had stopped for a short time at Blois. The English remained passive, they fully believed that Jeanne was an instrument employed against them by all the powers of darkness. Within the walls of Orleans she was a saint, within the English lines she was a sorceress. Those brave English soldiers, who might individually have said with Shakespeare, "What man dare do, dare I," held Jeanne in childish terror, and heaped every injurious epithet upon her, who was the impersonation of superhuman devotedness. "This sorceress," they said, "is able to work prodigies," and the effect of this belief was so great that these redoubted soldiers evacuated their bastiles to the south of the Loire with the exception of two, in which they concentrated all their forces. As these fortresses intercepted communication with Berry and the French, it was determined to attack them. The 6th of May Jeanne d'Arc crossed the Loire, and planted on its banks her standard bearing the fleur-de-lys, and the bastile was taken, burnt and destroyed. The next day all the army and people attack the other bastile, Jeanne is the first to plant a ladder against its walls, and mounts. She is wounded, and the soldiers, animated by her example,

assail the English on all sides ; escape is hopeless, the famous Captain William Glasdale falls in full armour into the river and is drowned, and more than 500 of his soldiers are cut down and killed. The 8th of May Suffolk and Talbot evacuate the bastiles of the north, and abandoning artillery, baggage, provisions, prisoners and wounded, drew off from the siege without a blow, such was the terror inspired by La Pucelle d'Orleans.

The population of the town and the soldiers wished to pursue the English, but Jeanne forbade them, saying, "They are gone ; do not go after them, nor kill them, for it is Sunday to-day."

The 13th of May she left Orleans for Tours to seek the king. As soon as she saw him, she knelt before him, and, embracing his knees, said, "Gentil dauphin, do not hold many or long councils, but come and receive your consecration at Reims. I am urged to announce that you go, and doubt not in that town you will receive it."

The English, still under the impression of the sorceress, did not display their usual indomitable courage ; when at Patay they were attacked unawares. Falstaff, who had fought them when the French were two to one at the battle of the herrings, now took to flight, and the invincible Talbot and Lord Scales were made prisoners. The belief of the people in Jeanne was now unquestioning. The nobles even joined in some degree in their enthusiasm. The royal army now marched onwards. Troyes offered some resistance ; but when La Pucelle advanced, her standard in hand, and after having the ditch filled up, was on the point of scaling the walls, the English, still under the effect of panic, offered to retire. Chalons opened its gates, and on the 13th of July the king reached Reims. Of their own accord the citizens refused to defend the town against him, and upon the 9th, the dauphin Charles was crowned in the episcopal town by the archbishop.

Jeanne had now fulfilled the mission which "her voices" had enjoined upon her. She had delivered Orleans, and the king had been crowned at Reims ; she now wished to retire to her village : "I have accomplished that which the messire set me to do ; I wish now he would have me taken back to my father and mother, to guard their sheep and their cattle." But her work was not done. She now asked to march upon Paris. The councillors of the king, however, detained her on the road, to take all the small places which opened their gates, so that when they reached Paris the moment was past. The city had recovered from its surprise ; the attack failed, and La Pucelle was wounded.

The king, falling back with his somnolent inertia, returned to Chinon, in order to place the Loire between him and his enemies, The Duke of Burgundy, taking courage, entered Soissons, and besieged Compiègne.

CAPTIVITY AND DEATH OF JEANNE D'ARC (1430—1431).

Jeanne, touched with the fate of the poor citizens who had given themselves to Charles, threw herself into the town to defend it. The day of her arrival, the 24th of May, 1430, she made a sortie, but was repulsed. When she arrived at the gate of the town, it was closed. Thus abandoned in the midst of her enemies, she was unhorsed by an archer of Picardy, and taken prisoner by the Count of Vendôme, who sold his prisoner to John of Luxembourg. He delivered her over to the Duke of Burgundy, and the duke sold her to the English for 10,000 francs.

We must remember that the French believed her to be sent by God to aid them in their misery, while the English looked upon her as a sorceress, and an agent of the evil one. The Bishop of Beauvais, Pierre Cauchon, a violent Burgundian, with the hope of obtaining the Archbishopric of Rouen, undertook to prove her a sorceress with all due form; yet this poor girl of nineteen, unsupported, and in the hands of the French, who had sold her, and the English, her enemies, often disconcerted her judges by her simple, yet heroic replies.

"Jeanne, do you believe you are in a state of grace?" she was asked by one of them.

"If I am not, may God give me His grace. And if I am, may He deign to keep me in it."

"Why was your standard taken into the church during the consecration at Reims rather than those of the other captains?"

"It had been in the place of danger; it was but just that it should occupy the place of honour."

"Do you think that your king did well to kill, or have assassinated Monseigneur of Burgundy?"

"It was a sad act for the kingdom of France; but whatever may have been between them, God sent me to the aid of the King of France."

"St. Catherine and St. Margaret, do they hate the English?"

"They love those our Lord loves, and hate those He hates."

"Does God hate the English?"

"Of the love or hate which God has for the English, I know

nothing; but I know they will be put out of France, save those who perish."

Her judges wished to extort from her anything compromising the king. The executioner was sent to her prison, and she was threatened with torture; but no menaces could shake her heroic soul. Her sentence was to pass all her days in prison, "to eat the bread of suffering, to drink the water of sorrow, and to weep for her sins." But the English found this too lenient. The reaction begun by Jeanne continued—Compiègne was delivered, the Burgundians had been beaten in Picardy; an expedition against the dauphin failed. At Rouen Lord Warwick said, "The king paid dearly for her; it is his wish in justice that she die, and he means that she be burned at the stake." Trinity Sunday, her jailer took away her woman's dress, and put the male attire she wore during her campaigns in its place. "You know," she said, "I am forbidden to wear it." The judges arranged this, in order to condemn the act as a relapse to sorcery. The execution was to take place at once. "In the morning Cauchon sent her a confessor, Brother Martin l'Advenu, to announce her death, and induce her to penitence."

When he told the poor child the death she was to die that day, she began to cry piteously, and to unloose and tear her hair. "Alas, will they treat me so horribly and cruelly?" she said. "Must it be that this body whole and entire, which has never known impurity, shall be consumed and reduced to ashes? Ah, ah, I would prefer seven times over they should cut off my head to be thus burned. . . . Oh! I call on God, the great Judge of the wrongs and the grievances that they do me." . . .

It was nine o'clock. She was dressed in woman's robes and put into a chariot. Trembling she was taken through the crowd under the guard of 800 armed men. She cried and lamented, but neither accused her king nor her saints. The only words that escaped her were, "Oh, Rouen, Rouen, am I then to die here!"

Three scaffoldings had been erected—two were for the great personages and functionaries of this lugubrious drama. The third was a high scaffolding of plaster loaded with wood. The fearful ceremony was begun by a sermon, it concluded with the formula, "Jane, go in peace, the Church can no longer defend you."

The poor child placed herself on her knees, invoking God, St. Michael, and St. Catherine, pardoning all and asking pardon, saying to the assistants, "Pray for me"—all with such touching humility and devotion, that even Cauchon, the Bishop of

Beauvais, sobbed aloud ; the English also, Winchester with the rest.

Thrust out of her Church she placed all her confidence in God. She asked for a cross. An English soldier gave her one of wood, which he made out of a stick ; this she placed near her heart. But still she wished one from the Church, and two worthy brothers brought one from the parish church of St. Sauveur. It was now noon ; the assistants began to tire, and, losing patience, two sergeants were sent to draw her away from the hands of the priests and deliver her over to the executioner, saying, " Do thy office." Many fled ; the judges even could not witness more.

When she found herself at the foot of the scaffold, nature again gave way ; she cried, " O Rouen, thou art then my last abode !" When she reached the summit of the scaffold, which was very high, and saw the town and the motionless silent crowd at her feet, she said, " O Rouen, Rouen, I fear thou wilt have to suffer for my death !"

She was tied to the stake and a mitre placed on her head bearing the inscription, " Heretic, relapsed, apostate, idolatress." When the fire was kindled she saw it and gave a cry, but the brother, who stood near, exhorting her, paid no attention to it ; she feared for him, and, forgetting herself, made him descend.

To the last it was hoped that seeing herself abandoned by the king she would speak against him, but to the last she defended him. " If I have well done or ill done, my king is not to blame. It was not he who counselled me." The flames crept upwards. At the moment she first felt them she shuddered and demanded " holy water—water." It was the cry of terror, but gathering her energies no words passed her lips but God, His angels and saints. " Yes," she cried, "' my voices ' were from God, they did not deceive me !"

" We heard her," said the monk Isambert de la Pierre, " in the fire invoking her saints, her archangel Michael ; she repeated the name of her Saviour. . . . At last, letting fall her head, she gave one cry—Jesus !"

Ten thousand eyes were weeping, and how many since have baptized her memory with tears. The executioner sought the brother Isambert the same evening to confess himself, terrified at what he had done. A secretary of the King of England said aloud, as he left the scene of martyrdom, " We are lost—we have burnt a saint."

CHAPTER XL.

END OF THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR (A.D. 1453).—DEATH OF CHARLES VII. (A.D. 1461).

THE 16th December, 1431, Henry VI. was crowned at Paris by an English prelate, to the great discontent of the Bishop of Paris ; but nothing was done to make the king popular, no liberation of prisoners, reduction of taxes, or largesse to the people. The discontent was general ; a rupture soon after took place between Bedford and Burgundy, which broke up the Anglo-Burgundian alliance. Charles made overtures of peace to the duke for the death of his father. The Treaty of Arras was signed September 1453, and the Duke of Burgundy, feeling himself liberated by the death of the Duke of Bedford, after extorting somewhat humiliating concessions withdrew all opposition, and Charles VII. entered Paris as King of France as the English retired to Rouen.

To the present time the king had appeared incapable of any sacrifice of his ease and pleasure, but now a complete change took place in his conduct, and for the rest of his reign his whole aim was to re-establish order and rid the kingdom of his enemies ; he created a regular army and rid himself of adventurers, enrolling the best, and placing his troops in garrison under a rigorous discipline. He also carried out financial reforms which, enabling him to maintain an army, rendered him independent of his barons. He further assembled a council of the clergy of France at Bourges, 1438, which resolved to recognize the authority of the general council as superior to that of the pope. The resolutions of this assembly, which established the liberties of the Gallican Church to elect its chiefs, and to admit the publication of bulls only after the approbation of the king, were known as the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges.

Charles soon found himself strong enough to cope with the English. England was now on the verge of the Thirty Years' Wars of the Roses ; the order and ability, and all else that had led to their successes, seemed to have changed hands, and been now inherited by the French ; victory had passed over to their side. Rouen armed against the English, and all Normandy once more became the appanage of France ; England was too occupied at home to feel the loss. The English had been the first to use artillery both at Crecy and Agincourt. The French now had learnt to use this new weapon, and had besides an army disciplined, obedient, and maintained by pay and not by pillage. Bordeaux opened its gates to the French, June, 1451, but

regretting the step, the Bordelais recalled the English. Talbot—the English Achilles—was killed at the siege of Castillon, and on the 14th Oct., **1453**, Charles VII. entered Bordeaux in triumph. The war of a Hundred Years was over. Calais and a few neighbouring places were all the English possessed in France.

END OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

The reign of Charles closes the Middle Ages, and modern times begin. Except the quarrel of investiture and the great English charter, France had played the first part in the great drama of European history. She had first defined the feudal system, commenced the crusades, created chivalry, the schools, the glorious ogival architecture displayed in her cathedrals, and formed the bourgeoisie or citizen class. Under Charles VII. France returned to the Roman system of armies and permanent taxation; Louis XI. finished the destruction of feudalism. Charles suffered from an incurable abscess in the mouth, which at last prevented him from taking food; he died July, **1461**. The cowardly abandonment of Jeanne d'Arc rests upon his memory as the blackest ingratitude.

CHAPTER XLI.

LOUIS XI. (A.D. 1461—1483).

LOUIS XI., who was thirty-eight when he came to the throne, was already experienced in dissimulation, incapable of affection, keen in his penetration into the motives of others, fearing no humiliation to arrive at his end, all his actions having one goal—absolute power. The entry of the king into Paris was signalized by a succession of fêtes. He exiled all the favourites of Charles VII., and took into favour all who had before been in disgrace; one of the first acts of Louis was to revoke the Pragmatic Sanction of Bourges, which appeared to give too much power to the clergy and nobles. He made the acquisition of Roussillon and La Cerdagne from the King of Navarre, to whom he lent 200,000 écus (**1412**), and he bought back the towns of the Somme which, at the Treaty of Arras, had been ceded to Burgundy. The Count of Charolois, the fiery son of Philip le Bon, never forgave this concession drawn from the old duke, his father, by the wily Louis. A further occasion of irritation was that Louis had given both the

Duke of Brittany and the Count of Charolois the government of Normandy, with the hope of seeing them dispute about it, instead of which they leagued against him. The battle of **Montchery, 1465**, in which the brother of the king, Charles of France, with all the discontented nobles opposed the king, was lost by him, and he signed the Treaty of Conflans, in which he ceded Normandy to his brother. He soon after convoked the States-General at Tours, **1468**, and obliged them to revoke the Treaty of Conflans, which brought about another league between Charles of France, the Duke of Brittany, and Charles the Bold, Count of Charolois, who had become Duke of Burgundy by the death of his father, Philip le Bon. They all treated with England, and invited Edward IV. to bring over an army. Louis retaliated by fomenting revolution in Flanders against Charles the Bold. The revolt of Liège was the result, and the rage of Charles knew no bounds when he learnt that the perfidious Louis was the author of the sedition. To allay all suspicion of complicity the king was staying with Charles, at Peronne, at the time of the revolt, and Louis, to escape out of the danger into which he had fallen, signed the Treaty of Peronne (**1468**), by which he gave up all sovereignty over the states of Burgundy, conferred Champagne and Brie on his brother as appanage, marched in person against the revolted Liégeois, and whilst witnessing the massacre of the inhabitants felicitated Charles on his triumph.

This king, without conscience or honour, annulled the Treaty of Peronne, **1470**, which created, however, new complications against him, and Charles the Bold called over the King of England, Edward IV., to his aid. Louis, seeing this menacing coalition, is accused of having poisoned his brother, Charles of France, who was to have married Mary of Burgundy, daughter of Charles the Bold. The latter marched into Picardy and spread terror everywhere. The defence of Beauvais, in which Jeanne Hachette immortalized her name, stopped his army, whilst the king negotiated, and attached to his party by his liberalities, the favourite of the Duke of Brittany, the Sire de Lescure, and the confidant of the Duke of Burgundy, Philip de Comines, the historian.

The ambition of Charles the Bold was to change his ducal into a royal crown. He proposed to ally himself with the Emperor of Germany, Maximilian, by offering him the hand of his daughter, Mary, in exchange for the acknowledgment of his Duchy of Burgundy as a kingdom. This broke through, and a formidable league was formed against him by the Archduke

Sigismund, the Swiss, and the King of France. Charles at this time pressed Edward IV. to land in France, who looking forward to a glorious campaign with the help of Burgundy, landed at Calais at the head of a fine army (1475). He expected to find the duke in the neighbourhood with all his forces, but Charles joined him almost alone, saying that his constable would open to Edward all his fortresses, the gates of France, whilst he would attack on this side of Lorraine; upon that he left. When the English king approached St. Quentin the constable in charge fired cannon upon him, which so irritated Edward that he signed a truce with the wary Louis, and Charles the Bold had no choice but to sign also. The truce of Soleure set him at liberty to settle with the Swiss his grievances against them, and two months after he passed the Jura and invaded Switzerland. His treachery at Granson, after having induced the little town to surrender, and then hanged or drowned its defenders, raised the whole Swiss nationality against him. They attacked him near Granson in a narrow plain, in which he could not manœuvre, and all the efforts of the duke could not prevent a panic and thence a rout; few men were killed, but Charles lost his renown as invincible, and his sword, his tent, his collar of the golden fleece, and ducal seal fell into the hands of the Swiss. His first act was to recruit his dispersed army, and seek vengeance for his humiliating defeat. He left Lausanne the 27th May, saying, "He would breakfast at Morat, dine at Fribourg, and sup at Berne;" but on the 22nd June he was still before Morat. The King of France sent money to the Swiss, troops arrived from Alsace and Germany, and the young Duke of Lorraine, René de Vaudemont, who had been robbed of his territory by the duke, brought a small body of cavalry and some suits of armour. The Swiss army left Berne the 21st June, 1476. Charles was aware of this but took no precaution; he believed they would not dare to attack him, but he was mistaken. They attacked him with impetuosity, his artillery and cavalry were again so placed that they could not act; his batteries were taken and his army cut to pieces. The Grand Duke of Burgundy again was vanquished and a fugitive; he hastened towards Nancy—the town he had destined as the capital of his future kingdom; he arrived too late, the town had been taken three days before. Charles still hoped soon to enter, as it had neither garrison nor provisions, and he held it strictly blockaded. The 4th January, 1477, the Duke of Lorraine, at the head of 20,000 men, arrived in sight of Nancy; Charles the Bold had not 4000 soldiers, but

no remonstrance could induce him to give way. "If it must be, I will fight alone." During heavy snow he advanced upon the enemy in desperation rather than with any hope of success. In a few moments his little army of Burgundians was dispersed and the duke killed. The next day one of his pages recognized the mutilated body of Charles the Bold, the last Duke of Burgundy, who governed it as an independent state. Louis at once took possession of the duchy, and claimed the guardianship of the daughter of Charles, and Mary of Burgundy married Maximilian of Austria, who at once laid claim to her inheritance; an indecisive battle was fought between the French and the Flemish and Burgundian troops of Maximilian (1479), at Guinnegate, followed by a truce. Four years later Mary of Burgundy died at the age of twenty-six, from the effects of a fall from her horse, and the young Margaret of Austria, her daughter, aged two years, was promised to the dauphin. The Treaty of Arras, concluded between Louis, the emperor, and the states of Flanders, confirmed the possession of the duchy of Burgundy and Artois to the French crown (1482). René of Anjou, sovereign of Provence and titular King of Italy, had named his nephew Count of Maine as his successor, and after him Louis was to inherit. Charles died soon after his uncle, and Anjou, Provence, and Maine became united to the crown, 1481. Thus, in one reign eleven provinces had been united to the royal domains, viz., Picardy, Artois, Burgundy, Anjou, Maine, Provence, Alençon, Perche, Guyenne, Roussillon, and Cerdagne.

The last moments of Louis XI. were passed in acts of superstitious devotion and endeavours to prolong his life. He gave a donation to the abbey of St. Cloud, in order to obtain the intercession of that saint "for a good and perfect state of his digestion." The King of Naples sent him the holy St. Francis of Paolo, before whom the king threw himself on his knees, to induce him to prolong his life. But all was of no avail; he had to resign himself to the inevitable; and, sending for the young dauphin, he died at the age of sixty, the 30th August, 1483.

"Louis XI. was known equally for his virtues as for his vices, and all put into the balance, he was a king."

CHAPTER XLII.

CHARLES VIII. (A.D. 1483—1491).

CHARLES VIII. was only thirteen years and two months at his father's death, and was the youngest of the children of the defunct king. Small in stature, with large head, short neck, chest and shoulders large and high, legs long and thin; such is the not very flattering portrait of his person left by his contemporaries. His mind was even less developed than his physical frame. The only Latin he knew was the sentence which exemplified the policy of his father: "*Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*"—"Who cannot dissimulate cannot reign;" and it is doubtful if even he could read that. This unpromising prince was now King of France, and in the full plenitude of his power, for at thirteen the law had fixed the majority of kings. But his authority was only apparent, for, in reality, it was in the hands of his sister, Anne of France, wife of Pierre de Beaujeu, cadet of the noble house of Bourbon. This princess, at twenty-two years, appeared to unite in her character many of the qualities of her father. Jeanne de France, the younger daughter of Louis, little, ugly, and hunchbacked, was married to the Duke of Orleans. Louis XI. said of his daughter, Anne of France, Dame de Beaujeu: "She is the least silly woman in the world, for wise there are none;" and her government certainly bore out this flattering character. Indeed, it needed all her sagacity to hold in check the ambition of the great nobles, who thought the occasion propitious for regaining their lost ascendancy; but "the government of madame," as it was called, was a continuation of the firm and energetic government of Louis, and all the efforts of the turbulent nobles and courtiers could not shake off her authority. By her diplomatic agency she brought about the marriage of the young king with Anne, heiress of Brittany (1491). This was the last of the great independent fiefs, and all the sovereigns of Europe were adverse to its being united to the domains of the King of France. The king was now twenty-one, and his marriage was celebrated at the Château de Langeais, in Touraine. This marriage was the last act of madame, or, as she was justly called, "*Madame la Grande*." This princess had the rare merit of allowing the power to slip little by little out of her own hands into those to which it belonged. After governing the kingdom eight years,

with virile energy and intelligence, she retired simply to her private duties, and kept to them. She died 1522. The marriage of the king merged the individuality of the last of the independent provinces into the great whole of the kingdom of France.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FIRST WAR IN ITALY (A.D. 1494—1498).

JUST when France had absorbed the last of the great fiefs, Italy was a focus of anarchy. From one end to the other of the peninsula despotism had replaced the old liberty. The kings of France had never lost sight of Italy. René of Anjou, King of Naples, had unjustly left his inheritance to Charles of Maine, to the prejudice of the Duke of Lorraine, and Charles of Maine had named Louis XI. his heir. It was upon this testament that Charles based his pretensions to the crown of Naples and of Sicily, then possessed by Ferdinand of Aragon. Charles collected an army and crossed the Alps, and marched across Lombardy. Pisa and Florence opened their gates (1494), and Charles reached Rome without drawing his sword. Ferdinand I. had just died. His son, Alphonse II., interfered, and the new King of Naples, Ferdinand II., determined to fight; but the treacherous desertion of his army obliged him to fly, and, without a lance being broken, Charles entered Naples, 22nd February, 1494, and, amidst flowers and fêtes, he was crowned King of Naples, Emperor of the East, and King of Jerusalem. Two months after, a league had been formed, of which the Emperor of Germany, Ferdinand the Catholic, and Henry VII. of England, were the instigators, to shut him up in Italy, and to oblige France to return within narrower limits. Charles hastily left Naples under a viceroy, Gilbert de Montpensier, and returned to France. Montpensier died of the plague, and of this expedition of Charles there remained not a trace.

DEATH OF CHARLES VIII.

At the commencement of the year 1498, Charles was at the Château d'Amboise, where he was engaged in having extensive works carried out by some excellent workmen he had brought

from Naples. One day he was passing through a dark gallery when he struck his head violently against a door, from the effects of which he died a few hours later, 7th April, 1498. He was only twenty-eight. Comines says of him, "He had not much understanding, but was so good it was not possible to find a better creature." The direct branch of the Valois ended with him, and was replaced by that of the Valois-Orléans.

CHAPTER XLIV.

LOUIS XII. (A.D. 1498—1515).

CHARLES left no children, and the crown reverted by right to the Duke Louis d'Orléans, grandson of the brother of Charles VI., and husband of Jeanne, the sister of the late king. He was thirty-six years old, and amiable, agreeable, and clever. His uncle, "Le beau et brave Dunois," was one of Charles VI.'s most valiant captains. One of the first cares of Louis was to repudiate his good wife Jeanne, and to marry the widow of his predecessor, Anne of Brittany. Thus once more Brittany was secured, and for ever, to France (1499). Louis next determined to lead an army into Italy, and renew the claims of France to Naples. He conquered the Milanese, 1500, and then, assuring himself of the neutrality or support of Central Italy, French influence became paramount in the north, as well as in the centre of the Peninsula.

Louis reserved for himself the title of King of Naples, but consented to divide the territory with Ferdinand, the Catholic King of Aragon. The latter was to have the southern portion, with the title of duke, and Louis, with the title of king, was to possess Naples and the Abruzzi. Frederic, then reigning in Naples, menaced by the French army, solicited the help of his relative, Ferdinand, King of Aragon, being unsuspecting of his treachery. The Spaniards he sent under Gonsalva de Cordova, once in possession of the fortresses, then made known to the unfortunate Frederic the Treaty of Granada, which he had signed with Louis XII. The result of this treachery was a dispute between the French and Spaniards, which broke out into open war.

Gonsalva of Cordova gained two consecutive victories over the French, at Seminara and at Cerignoles, in which perished

Nemours, the last of the Armagnacs, and the French retained only the town and seaport of Gaëta. Louis assembled three new armies: two marched on Spain, the third advanced on Naples, when suddenly the death of the pope, Alexander VI., threw the whole of Italy into fermentation, and Louis lost his most powerful ally in the Peninsula. The French army was long kept in check by Gonsalva; then attacked by this great captain, it took to flight, Gaëta opened its gates to the Spaniards, and the kingdom of Naples was once more lost to France.

Matters went against Louis at this period of his reign. While his armies were melting away in Italy, he was compromising France itself, and, by three Treaties of Blois, Louis was signing away many rights, while the same powers that were negotiating with him were concluding secret engagements to despoil him. In fact, if these arrangements had been carried out, Charles V. would have attained universal monarchy.

The only excuse there can be made for Louis is the state of illness to which he was reduced at this time. Indeed, his life was despaired of.

But the Treaties of Blois were not observed. Genoa turned against France, and chose a new doge favourable to the pope, and Louis, crossing the Alps, inflicted a severe punishment on the city.

Unhappily, all princes followed at this time the tortuous principles introduced by Louis XI. No one was true to his word, and Louis XII., though more loyal than his compeers, was constantly tricked by them. The Ligue of Cambrai is a proof of these disgraceful facts. Louis XII. was weak enough to join Maximilian, the pope, Ferdinand, and many Italian princes, to dismember and partition Venice, then at the height of its power.

An army sent by Louis to Italy, under Trivulce, Bayard, and Charles d'Amboise, subdued the Venetian territory to the Adda, by the victory of Aguadel (1509). But the courage of the Venetians saved the republic. Pope Julius II., who hated the French as the cause of all the misfortunes of Italy, fell off from them, and Henry VIII. of England espoused the cause of Venice. The Swiss were the principal force relied upon by Julius for the expulsion of the French from Italy.

COALITION AGAINST LOUIS.

The pope had formed a powerful coalition against France. Louis XII., forced to arm, was supported by the whole clergy of France (1510), but Queen Anne was greatly alarmed at the sacred war.

Pope Julius, learning (1511) the decision of the French clergy at the Council of Tours, excommunicated all the French generals. In the war that ensued the pope was not always triumphant. His troops were routed at Casalecchio, near Ravenna.

A new association was formed against the King of France by the pope, the Venetians, and Ferdinand the Catholic. It bore the name of the Sainte Ligue. In 1512 Louis sent an army into Italy under La Palisse and Gaston de Foix, Duke of Nemours; his sister's son. This young hero delivered Bologna, and recaptured Brescia. It was on this occasion that Bayard, the bon chevalier, who was dangerously wounded, and received into a private house, rewarded the hospitality of his hosts by saving them from the brutality of his soldiers, who were gorged with gold and plunder. The number of the slain on this occasion was immense.

BATTLE OF RAVENNA (A.D. 1512).

The army of the ligue was beaten at Ravenna by Gaston; but this victory cost France the life of the hero, who fell with 6000 French, while the enemy lost 12,000, and most of their leaders were made prisoners.

Unfortunately La Palisse did not push the victory, but retired timidly to Milan, and the Swiss forced the French to evacuate Lombardy. Genoa revolted, and all Italy was lost to them.

Julius II. died in 1513, and was succeeded by Leo X., who was less opposed to France.

The good King Louis was doomed to be betrayed or deceived. Maximilian was not true to him, and Ferdinand was always deceiving him; but the Italians rose again in favour of France, and Louis sent De Tremouille to help them. He was defeated by the Swiss at Riotta, near Novara.

BATTLE OF THE SPURS.

Louis was now called upon to oppose Henry VIII. of England and Maximilian, and lost the battle of Guinnegate, or of the Spurs, because they were the only things used there by the French gendarmerie, who ran away. La Palisse, Bayard, and almost all the French officers were made prisoners.

The Swiss also invaded France at this time, and besieging Dijon, which was not in a state to resist, La Tremouille only avoided capitulation by negotiating the Treaty of Dijon (1513) in which Louis gave up all claim to the Milanese, and promised 400,000 écus. Louis was at first very angry at this treaty, but he afterwards proceeded to carry out part of its stipulations. Another of his friends, James IV. of Scotland, perished in battle at Flodden Field, and Louis was at length obliged to give up all the projects of his life. In 1514 Louis lost his queen, Anne of Bretagne, a woman of proud, vindictive, and imperious character. The same year Louis obtained the hand of Mary, sister of Henry VIII. of England, which alliance put an end to a dangerous war. But Louis did not long survive, the fatigues of the wedding fêtes helping to wear him out. He died, January, 1515.

The reign of Louis XII. is one of the most honourable periods of the French monarchy. The title of Father of his People, given to him by the orator of the States-General, has placed his name among those of good sovereigns. His economy deserved the gratitude of the French, especially as this virtue, so rare at that time, was not soiled with cupidity, and he was as averse from taking the money of his people as he was from spending it.

CHAPTER XLV.

FRANCIS I.

THE renaissance in the sixteenth century was not, as might have been supposed, a servile reproduction of antiquity, but an harmonious fusion of the elements of Christian civilization with the traditions of ancient taste and learning. Italy was the confluence of the two currents. In Italy the fusion of the modern spirit and ancient recollections had been simple and rapid, combining two elements—Catholicism and Græco-Latin traditions.

No obstacle had prevented this union. The popes, the virtual chiefs of the Middle Ages, had placed themselves at the head of the movement. Accordingly the sixteenth century saw bud fully in its midst, the purest expression of social maturity, the immortal growth of art.

The same result did not take place in France. France being a kind of central nation, has been in some degree historically a medium for all ideas, has received and combined numerous elements, and has had a large share in bringing forth modern thought through a series of convulsions. And now in the sixteenth century, and in France, other elements had to be fused with mediæval inspirations and antique æsthetics. A new spirit had been breathed forth in the North, stirring up man to the foundations of his being. The right of doubt, the duty of reflecting, the need of individual action, expressed in the reformation of Luther and Calvin, had to combine with the unity of opinion, of thought, and of government. This blending of individuality with unity and centralization was the struggle and aim of the sixteenth century.

These different elements in the sphere of ideas, are expressed by terrible agitations in the sphere of facts. France presents, in this century, two peoples in the same nation ; it presents us with two assassinated kings—Henry III. and Henry IV.,* a king assassinating his people, the past and the future coming like two spectres to torment this unhappy period, feudalism trying to raise its head and partition France, democracy passing over from the Protestants to the Catholic camp, and forming a strange alliance with theocracy ; lastly, as a climax of the struggle, two foreign races offering their interested aid to both parties—Spain to the Catholics, England and Germany to the Protestants, and bringing the genius of the South and North into conflict on the fair fields of France. Such was the spectacle presented by France in the sixteenth century.

At the end came the catastrophe and the calm. The tumult quiets down, passions are soothed, political agitation sleeps away in a long, monarchical trance ; but this is only a temporary situation, like all others in the world's history. Unity is restored by the reconciliation of contending ideas, in the person and reign of Henry IV. ; on the one hand free inquiry is sanctioned by the edict of Nantes, or in other words by the dogma of civil toleration ; on the other hand the principle of authority is confirmed but displaced ; unity is to be henceforth not in the

* At the beginning of the seventeenth century.

of printing—scattered whole editions of books among the learned. Printing was at first only the art of engraving or stereotyping on wood, and had been known in China since time immemorial. But the immortal invention of movable types dates from Guttenberg (1450). Faust, a rich merchant of Mayence, helped him with his capital, and Schoeffer perfected the invention by a more easy process in the founding of types.

Fichet, rector of the Sorbonne, introduced printing in Paris, (1469). The Paris presses produced 751 works down to the end of the century, and, at the beginning of the sixteenth, they gave out 800 publications in ten years. Hermonymus was replaced by Aleandro as Greek professor (rector of the University of Paris) in 1512, and who received a pension from Louis XII.

The renaissance in France took a special development under Francis I. Never did the human mind show a more enthusiastic devotion to the past, or a more impassioned love of letters. Badius, Ascensius, Gourmont, and Dolet were succeeded by the family of Estienne, who raised the art of typography to the highest pitch. Francis I. showed great interest in the tenth muse. He did not exactly erect the royal imprimerie, but he caused Gourmont to found the admirable types that were lent to printers for the first edition of works.

Then leaving the Sorbonne to attend to scholastic disputes, the king secularized instruction by founding the Collège Royal, the Collège de France, or Collège des trois langues (1531), presenting chairs of Hebrew, Greek, Latin, medicine, mathematics, and philosophy, an admirable and fertile disorder and confusion of teaching the offspring of a genuine age, to which more recent times would have given a more methodical arrangement.

CHARACTER OF FRANÇOIS I.

Francis d'Angoulême, Duke of Valois, was the son of Charles d'Angoulême, who descended, like Louis XII., from Louis d'Orléans. Born at Cognac, Sept. 12th, 1494, he was twenty years of age at his accession. His education, commenced by the Maréchal de Giel, had been finished by Arthur Gouffier, Sire de Bussy. He brought back from Italy the taste for letters and arts. But Francis delighted especially in reading books of chivalry; he took as models the heroes of the Round Table, and of Charlemagne. He wished to shine rather as an Amadis than as a king. Nature had also made him a true knight. His lofty stature, the

beauty of his countenance, his skill in the use of arms, and all the exercises of the body, his well-known valour, his very love of pleasure, secured the admiration of all, who only knew the world through romances.

Francis I. had a singular empire over the hearts of his countrymen. He had gained them at his accession by the charm of his features, by his brilliant valour, by his captivating manners, and later he confirmed his empire by his misfortunes and his constancy in a dangerous struggle.

Francis (1547) scarcely survived Henry VIII. of England, two months. He died at Rambouillet, March 31, 1546, aged fifty-three. He had married secondly Claude de Bretagne, daughter of Louis XII., and left as his widow, Eleanor of Austria, sister of Charles V. Of his three sons, Francis, Charles, and Henry, the latter only survived. Madeleine, one of his daughters, married to the King of Scotland, had died the same year, 1547. Margaret, the second daughter, married the Duke of Savoy. Margaret, sister of King Francis, wife of the Duc d'Alençon, and afterwards of Henri d'Albret, King of Navarre, was noted for her wit, beauty, and graces.

The reign of Francis I. was the period of great sovereigns. Of Henry VIII., this is not the place to speak. Leo X. has been described in our "History of Germany." Charles V., his great rival, Emperor of Germany and King of Spain, appears in history under a severer aspect than Francis I. He is always on the move, visiting his extensive dominions, speaking the tongues of his various peoples, fighting by turns Francis I. and the Protestants, Soliman and the Algerine pirates. He is the true successor of Charlemagne, the defender of the Christian world. But in Charles V. the statesman absorbs the soldier. He is the first model of modern kings. Francis I. is a hero of the mediæval stamp.

REMARKABLE CHARACTERS OF THE TIME.

Louisa de Savoie, a widow at twenty, was forty years old at the accession of her son, over whom she preserved a great ascendancy. Anne de Bretagne had been used to call to arms a number of noble demoiselles who formed her escort. The queen-mother retained this custom, but being of a frivolous character she was not very strict in her ways, and the court was not a pattern of propriety as under Anne of Brittany.

THE CHEVALIER BAYARD.

A greater hero than the king was the Chevalier Bayard. After a life passed in all the graces and accomplishments of chivalry, Bayard, the chevalier sans peur et sans reproche, a native of Dauphiné, accompanied Bonnivet, a general of France, in a disastrous Italian campaign (1524) to the rout of Rebel. After losing many men and all his baggage, Bonnivet wished to join his allies, the Swiss, who were waiting for him on the other bank of the Sezia. But the passage of the river was resisted by the imperialists. A wound obliged Bonnivet to resign the command to Vaudenese, who, wounded in his turn, gave it up to Bayard. Crossing the river, the bon chevalier was struck down with a mortal wound. "Jésus, mon Dieu !" he exclaimed, "I am dead !" Then he caused himself to be laid down at the foot of a tree, with his feet turned towards the enemy, and prayed with his eyes fixed on the cross forming the hilt of his sword. Bourbon passing near the dying knight, expressed sentiments of compassion for him. "Monseigneur," said Bayard, "you need not pity me, but yourself who are armed against your king, your country, and your faith." He died at that spot under a tent, which the enemy raised there, surrounded by every testimony of respect from the men of both armies. Bayard, who deserved the epithet of chevalier sans peur et sans reproche, might also be styled the last of the knights, for he had remained the last and only expression of the virtues of chivalry of the past.

THE CONNÉTABLE OF BOURBON.

Charles, Count of Montpensier, and Dauphin d'Auvergne, held from his wife, granddaughter of Louis XI. (Suzanne), the duchy of Bourbon, and other domains. At the death of his wife (1521) Bourbon, then thirty-three years old, wished to wed Rénée, daughter of Louis XII., and sister of the queen. But the Duchess of Angoulême, by whose influence he had assumed the constable's sword, made an offer to him. Louise, though forty-seven years old, might still be reckoned handsome, but Bourbon refused her. Thereupon the duchess was bent on his ruin. His goods were sequestered, and he, in despair, went over to the emperor (1523). He joined Charles V. in conspiring against France, and while Francis I. passed the Alps, he attacked Burgundy, raised in revolt five of his provinces against the French king, proposing to convert Provence into a kingdom for himself,

and to dismember France. His unhappy country was a prey to every misery through his means, and as a climax he attacked and sacked Rome, allied to France under Clement VII., the storming being accompanied with every kind of atrocity (1527). Bourbon had put on a white coat of mail to be seen by his men, and when he saw he was fully supported by his German infantry, he seized a ladder and was ascending it, when a ball struck him in the ribs. He felt that he was dead, and ordered his men to cover his body with his cloak and conceal his death.

JOHN CALVIN.

The canon, John Calvin (Chauvin), born at Noyon (1509), pushed Luther's principle to its extreme consequence, attacking all that Luther had left standing. He denied the Real Presence, treated as idolatry the honour shown to images of Jesus Christ and of the saints, and suppressed all religious rites and ceremonies. By teaching the doctrine of election and reprobation, he gave a sterner, darker form to Protestantism. This led to a general destruction of churches, paintings, and altars. Geneva became the great centre of his adherents, and was ruled by him with a rod of iron. From Geneva the new doctrine spread to La Rochelle, to Poitiers, Bourges, Orleans, the learned towns of France, and to the Netherlands. The Huguenots in France were Calvinists.

WARS OF FRANCIS I.

Most of the reign of this monarch was taken up with wars, especially against Charles V. His first war, in 1515, was an attempt to recover the Milanese. This led to the great battle of Marignan, lasting two days, called the battle of Giants, between the army of France and a Swiss auxiliary army to the Milanese. Francis slept the second night on a gun-carriage. When the Swiss began their retreat, with a proud countenance, they had lost 12,000 men, the army of Francis 6000. After the battle, Francis received knighthood at the hands of Bayard. Leaving a small force in the Milanese, and concluding an alliance with the Swiss, Francis led back the remainder of his army to France.

It has been seen in the "History of Germany" that competition for the imperial crown brought about the rivalry and wars of Francis I. and Charles V.

FIRST WAR WITH CHARLES V.

In Flanders little was effected ; in Lombardy matters went against the French general, Lautrec. His allies, the Swiss, were not hearty, and were beaten at La Bicoque. A strong ligue was formed against Francis. It was now that the evil influence of Bourbon came up, and ravaged France (1523). But the king faced his danger bravely, saving Picardy by the fine defeat of La Tremouille. The brilliant army under Bonnivet was defeated next year (1524), at the passage of the Sezia, and Bourbon invading France, seized several towns.

To meet and defeat this storm, Francis advanced in Italy to Pavia. After a month of hesitation, a battle was fought with the imperialist general, the Marquis of Pescara, and entirely lost. Francis had a superior artillery, but he wished to decide the victory by his gend'armerie, and, riding in front, made his guns useless. The Swiss retired ; the Lansquenets were crushed with the *White Rose*, Duke of Suffolk. The king and his gend'armerie made a stout resistance. La Palisse and La Tremouille were struck down, the King of Navarre and Montmorency were made prisoners, Francis I. was fighting on foot, his armour all battered with blows. Happily he was recognized by Pomperau, a French gentleman in the suite of Bourbon, but the king would only give his sword to Lannoy, viceroy of Naples.

On this occasion he wrote the memorable note, "Tout est perdu hors l'honneur."

Brought to Spain, French writers say he was ill-treated by Charles. The Spanish nobles wished him to be set free on parole. At length, by the Treaty of Madrid, Francis renounced his pretensions to the Milanese, promised to give up Burgundy, and agreed to other binding terms.

But, when set free, he got the state of Burgundy to cancel the treaty as compulsory, whereupon Charles accused him of perfidy. Francis sent a challenge to the emperor, and the end was a second war.

SECOND WAR.

The second war, in which Francis had the pope and Venice as allies, was not very favourable. Milan was taken, and Rome sacked by the imperial armies (1527). Lautrec's army sent to Naples was ruined by the plague, and Andrew Doria, the Genoese admiral, went over in disgust to the emperor.

By the Treaty of Cambrai (1529), Francis abandoned all his allies to the vengeance of Charles.

THIRD WAR (1535).

Francis, disgusted with the dishonourable peace, sought once more to recover the Milanese. He advanced certain rights of his mother, and invaded Piedmont, which he subdued. But the armies of the emperor invaded and ravaged Provence, Picardy, and Champagne. At length Montmorency, by laying waste Dauphiné, forced Charles V. to retire, for lack of resources.

In the end a reconciliation was brought about by the pope between Francis and Charles, who met at Aigues Mortes (1539).

About this time Charles visited Francis, and was received with great courtesy. But their friendship was hollow.

FOURTH WAR.

A fourth war broke out, occasioned by various motives of mutual disgust. Francis was allied to Soliman, and, as we have seen, was successful in invading Brabant, Piedmont, &c. But the alliance with the Turks outraged Christendom, England turned against France, and Charles was invading France, but was stopped by the victory of Cerisoles gained over his forces, leading to the Treaty of Coupy, by which France renounced Naples, and Charles Burgundy. The latter years of Francis were darkened by domestic afflictions.

CHAPTER XLVI.

THE AGE OF ANARCHY AND RELIGIOUS WARS.—HENRY II. (A.D. 1547).

HENRY II., second son of Francis I., inherited his crown after the death of his eldest brother, the dauphin. He was twenty-eight at his accession.

Theodore Beza says that Henry had neither the vivacity of mind nor the eloquence of his father, but a very amiable, *débon-*

naire temper, easy to deceive ; that he saw nothing with his own eyes, and readily believed the reports of those who had his confidence.

He resembled Louis XII. in appearance, and his rule would have been similar if he had been as well surrounded by prudent counsellors. As regards exterior, his stature, though inferior to his father's, was high ; he was square-built, strong, and fit for all manly exercises, though inclined to be stout, a tendency he combated by the regularity of his diet and daily exercise : he was nevertheless very active. His complexion was dark, his hair and beard black.

Profiting by his easy disposition, he was soon surrounded by a throng of courtiers, bent on robbing him and sharing his largesses. Treasures, dignities, bishoprics, abbeys, nothing escaped them. The Guises, the constable, Diana de Poitiers, and the Saint André, managed him completely. Catherine of Medici, then twenty-six years old, was entirely eclipsed. Throughout this reign Eleanor, the queen-dowager, retired from court.

THE GUISES.

The rapid extinction of many of the Valois had raised the hopes and ambition of the Guises. These princes of the younger branch of Lorraine were descended from Yolande, daughter of René d'Anjou, titular king of Naples. They assumed that they had been unjustly deprived of their inheritance by Louis XI., and they laid claim to the title of princes of the blood. Claude, grandson of Yolande, was looked on as the head of the family, having been made Duke of Guise by Francis I., and shown great military talents. He had married Antoinette de Bourbon, daughter of the Duke of Vendôme. At his death (1550) he left six sons :—1. François de Lorraine, Duc d'Aumale, who took the title of Duke of Guise ; 2. Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine ; 3. Charles of Guise, who became Duc d'Aumale ; 4. The Archbishop of Sens, Cardinal de Guise ; 5. The Grand Prior, General of the galleys of France ; 6. The Marquis of Elboeuf.

MILITARY EVENT.

The first important military event was (1549) the recapture of Boulogne from England. Charles V. harboured vast designs

of almost universal empire at this time, and, to resist him, Henry II. formed an alliance with the Protestants of Germany and Edward VI. of England. Henry captured Metz (then an imperial city) by treachery, also the whole of Lorraine, and he made an attempt on Strasbourg, which failed (1552).

Fortune seemed to turn against Charles. The fleets of the sultan, leagued with France, were scouring the Mediterranean, and Charles was obliged to grant many privileges to his German Protestants by the peace of Passau. But the old emperor, though broken in health, retained all his spirit. Crossing the Rhine with 60,000 men, he laid siege to Metz, defended with such resolution by the Duke of Guise, that Charles was forced to raise the siege, after forty days' open trenches, the privations and severity of the season having greatly reduced his army.

Two bold strokes were carried out about this time, by the emperor suddenly investing Terouenne, while Emmanuel Philibert took, and ruined, Hesdin. After a further indecisive engagement at Renti (1554), the emperor retired to Brussels, and shortly after abdicated, disgusted with the turmoil of political life. His son, Philip II., signed, with Henry II., a truce for five years, at Vaucelles.

Meanwhile new difficulties were preparing for Henry in the rise of the Calvinistic party. Antoine le Courbon, and the Prince de Condé, had embraced the new doctrine, which had struck root in the district of Navarre, whose king protected it. The Guises were also active in Italy at this time (1557), warring on Philip, and in favour of the pope, chiefly to forward their ambitious designs in connection with Naples. But they were soon recalled to France by a great disaster. Mary of England had married Philip of Spain, and they now engaged hotly in a war with Henry, who had broken the truce. The armies of Spain, led by the Duke of Savoy, invested St. Quentin, defended by Coligny, and imperfectly fortified. By the imprudence of the constable, a battle was fought very fatal to France, 10th August (1557), in which 4000 soldiers were slain, including the Comte d'Enguien, the Vicomte de Turenne, and others. The greater part of the remainder were made prisoners, and the road was laid open to Paris. But Philip II., influenced by timid counsels, led back his army to Flanders, and built the Escorial in Spain.

The only small set-off to this disaster was the recovery of Calais from the English (1558). It was in this year also that Mary Stuart was married to the dauphin.

Another defeat was experienced this same year by the French arms, under Guise, in a sea-fight off Grave-lines, against the Count of Egmont, with a Flemish and English fleet. The whole French squadron was destroyed. Soon after the peace of Cateau (Cambresis) (1559) was concluded between Henry and Philip, chiefly to enable them to extirpate heresy. By this treaty France retained Metz, Toul, and Verdun, but gave up all claims on



MARY, QUEEN OF SCOTS. Italy.

In the same year, during the fête of a double marriage, lists were prepared from the Tournelles, where the king lived, across the Rue St. Antoine to the royal stables. Every day the great lords of the realm, and others, tilted in these lists. At length Henry ordered Count Montgomery, captain of his guard, to tilt at him. The two champions met each other, their lances broke, and a splinter from one entered the king's eye, causing death by effusion of blood on the brain. Whilst hovering between life and death, they hastened to marry his sister Margaret to the Duke of Savoy. Henry expired July 10th, aged forty, after a reign of twelve years and three months.

FRANCIS II.

Henry II. had ten children, of whom seven survived him, four sons and three daughters. His eldest son, Francis II., married to Mary, Queen of Scots, was weak in health. He was much attached to his wife, and greatly under her influence, and that of Catherine of Medici, his mother.

The queen-dowager, Catherine, was then thirty-seven years old. For twenty-six years she had been settled in the court of France, and yet her presence had not been much noticed. Neglected by her husband, she had not shown any impatience, and had been obedient and faithful. Dissimulation had become a habit with her, but hatred and vengeance had small share in her actions. Nor was she much influenced by moral principle. Prudence and calculation were her dominant motives. She felt no more repugnance in joining the Catholics than the Protestants. She soon saw that the influence of the Guises would be predominant with Mary of Scotland, their niece, and with Francis. Therefore she joined the Guise party.

The conflicting parties were then represented on the one hand

by the six brothers of the house of Guise, with the young queen, their niece ; on the other by the Bourbons and the Chatillons, Montmorency, with his three nephews, Odet, Cardinal de Chatillon ; Coligny, Admiral of France ; and Dandelot, Colonel-General of Infantry. The Prince de Condé was a man of bold character, though short in stature, and all these princes had a leaning to Protestantism.

The event of the reign was the Conspiracy of Amboise (1560). After much discussion, the Protestants had decreed to petition the king to redress their grievances, and dismiss the Guises ; but to enforce the measure an armed company was to seize the Guises at Amboise, and bring them to judgment. The plot was approved by Condé and Coligny. The last measures were taken by La Renaudie at Nantes. February 1, 1560, all was ready, but the plan was betrayed to the Cardinal of Lorraine by a timid advocate, Avonelles. The Guises dissimulated their vengeance for a time, and an arrangement was effected securing considerable liberties to the Calvinists. Condé kept aloof, La Renaudie was attacked by a royal troop in a forest, and killed, and executions followed so rapidly that the Duchess of Guise began to fear a judgment of God on her house.

Condé was soon after seized and tried ; the day of his condemnation was fixed, and the executioner even ready, when the king opportunely died of an abscess in his ear, at the age of seventeen years and ten months.

CHARLES IX.—CATHERINE OF MEDICI, REGENT.

The new king, Charles IX., was only ten years of age, nor had any regency been provided. Catherine, his mother, as a woman and a foreigner, was an object of hatred and jealousy. But L'Hopital advised her to seize the supreme power, which she did, and then she commenced a system of opposition and management to which she remained faithful to the end of her life. The principal events of her regency in the name of Charles IX. may be reduced to a few heads.

THE WAR OF RELIGION.

The great event of the period is the protracted contest of the two religious parties in France. The first reception given to the reformed doctrine in France had been encouraging ; the Reformation seemed only a popular expression of the renaissance. The Sorbonne thundered against the new opinions ; but in their

favour were all those who hated the Sorbonne and its pedantry. The palace of Francis I. was opened to the ideas of Luther, as well as to all new ideas. It was considered *bon ton* to appear to be willing to accept them. Margaret, sister of the king, a learned and an amiable princess, and Louise de Savoie, his mother, were for a time favourable to the new views. The king, who was not adapted for theological discussions, and who afterwards persecuted the Calvinists from despotic instincts and diplomatic calculation, regarded the reform at first as nothing but a means of laughing at monks and Sorbonne pedants. The literary world of the time seemed all gathered to the reformers. The throng of courtiers ready to obey the nod of their master, set up Calvinism as a fashion. Walking in the evening to the *Près aux Clercs*, they sung the French hymns of Clement Marot. Moreover the king's particular friend, Mademoiselle d'Heilly, Duchesse d'Etampes, had been gained by the Protestants—she who was called “*La plus belle des savantes, et la plus savante des belles.*”

Accordingly all chances appeared in favour of the reformed religion; but eminent French historians represent that it had against it something more powerful than a court, and more durable than a fashion—the national genius of France. France, by admitting the Reformation, would have constituted, like England, a national Church, isolated in the centre of Europe. We are told that she would thus have renounced the grand idea of a Christian republic, which filled the past, and watches at the gates of the future. The people of unity, binding together all the region of the West, could not, in the opinion of these writers, be drawn into the exclusive reaction of the North, nor break with the nations of the South, with the new Latin race to which it belongs itself.

Besides, this mystic system was either too much or too little for France. The revolutions of France have not a negative character; they affirm and create, but do not protest. France refused to accept Protestantism as a religion, though she retained a principle analogous to that of Protestantism that existed before it, and is, perhaps, more fruitful in results—the principle of free inquiry.

THE CHANCELLOR L'HOPITAL.

Several kings succeeded each other rapidly on the throne of France at this time, and passed away after an ephemeral exist-

ence, leaving behind them little save a lurid light, burning for a time with some fury, and no brilliancy, and only making the darkness of the times more horribly visible.

The real king of the times sat not on a throne, but was the pattern of magistrates and the model of citizens. "Michael de l'Hopital" (born in 1508, and died 1573), says the frivolous Brantôme, "was the greatest and the most honourable chancellor that France ever had. He was another Cato the censor, having quite the same appearance, with his long white beard, his pale face, and his grave manner." The thought of his life, the end of all his endeavours, was to introduce into French laws civil tolerance, to bring the two religions to live in peace on the same ground—a new idea at that time, as remote from the mind of the Calvinists as it was from that of the Catholics.

By an extraordinary and inexplicable chance, or rather Providence, the most virtuous of men and the most perverse of women, l'Hopital and Catherine of Medici, united their political views, and long pursued the same end. Justice and utility had perceived their identity. Political eloquence broke forth for the first time in France from his venerable lips—an eloquence full of probity, and amply justifying the ancient definition of the orator: *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. L'Hopital marched at the head of the illustrious group of French magistrates, such as Seguier, Montholou, Pithou, Harlay, Pasquier, and Thou, men who, by the gravity of their life, by the modest simplicity and Roman temper of their character, were undoubtedly one of the purest and greatest glories of France.

Formed by the plain and downright traditions of ancient Gaulish manners, and by the profound study of antiquity, these men united to the loyalty of faithful subjects, a sort of rigid virtue, which seemed a legacy of the old republics. They were, as Montgomery says, "beautiful souls, stamped with the antique stamp."

Not succeeding in appeasing the hatred of parties, L'Hopital applied himself to improve the administration by good laws. Thanks to him, some of the wisest regulations of the ancient monarchy date from one of the most fatal of French reigns (that of Charles IX.).

The edict of Orleans (ordonnance 1561), promulgated, in the name of the king, the greater part of the reforms demanded by the representatives of the third estate in the session of the States-General. That of Moulins (1566), including sixty-six chapters, having for its object the recasting of the judicial sys-

tem, remained one of the bases of French legislation down to the Revolution. L'Hopital wished to close the sanctuary of justice against religious passions: "You are judges of the meadow and of the field," he said to the magistrates of the parliament of Rouen, in the sitting in which Charles IX. was proclaimed as being of age, "but you are not judges of life, of manners, or of religion. You think you are doing well to pronounce a verdict in favour of a man whom you think a better man, or a better Christian, just as if it were a question between the parties in dispute as to who was the best poet, orator, painter, artisan, and not as to the matter brought into judgment. If you do not feel yourselves strong and just enough to command your passions and love your enemies, as God commands you, then abstain from acting as judges."

When honest men are reduced to give such advice, the worst results may be anticipated, and so it happened. For shortly after, French history presents nothing but murder and blood. The last recollections history has retained of L'Hopital relate to St. Bartholomew's massacre. The Duke of Anjou had commissioned his guards to go all over the precincts of Paris, "in order to surprise and kill all the Huguenots in their houses." The chancellor, honoured for some time by being disgraced, and retired at Vigny, near Etampes, was threatened by one of these bands of assassins. His family and his friends conjured him to hide himself. He refused: "It will be," he said, "when God shall see fit, when my time is come." They came soon to say to him, "that they saw a number of horses on the road, who were drawing near, and asked if he did not wish the gate to be closed." "No, no," he replied, "but if the little gate is not *bashaute* (enough) to let them in, open the great one." It was found that people came to announce to him, not that he was condemned, but that he was pardoned. He answered "that he did not think that he had deserved either death or pardon." We trace here at its very source the eloquence of this illustrious man. It was only the natural effusion of his noble sentiments, and according to the expression of an old orator, it was the sound given forth by a great soul.

THE LIGUE.

The ligue is the second phase of the religious movement in the sixteenth century. After the action of the Reformation, came the reaction of Catholicism. The conflicting parties could

only, as always happens, come to any arrangement, after having fatigued and exhausted each other by their excesses. Religious fanaticism found at this time, in the ambition of two rival houses, and in the vague, but virulent aspirations of a premature democracy, terrible auxiliaries. It will be sufficient, as a picture of the age, to show the physiognomy of these strange demagogues, of these hooded tribunes, and let them give utterance to some of their invectives.

The first serious symptoms of the ligue were manifested in **1576**. It was nothing but an imitation of the Calvinistic oaths and formularies for the defence of the cause. In **1587**, a union of men of determined character was formed at Paris, who wished for a rapid solution. They assembled and kept council in the chamber of Jean Boucher, curé of St. Benoit. At their head were Boucher, Launay, a former Protestant minister, who had become a canon, and Prevôt, curé of St. Severin. They associated with them Rose, Bishop of Senlis, Palletier, Guincestre, Hamilton, Cueilly, celebrated preachers.

Preachers were the soul of the ligue; they communicated to the people the enthusiasm of resistance, which made it brave death and suffer hunger without a murmur. There was not in Paris a church or a chapel in which sermons were not delivered at least twice a day. They liked to speak of "the life, the abominable deeds of the perfidious tyrant, Henri de Valois." The sermon was the club and the journal. It had all the demagogic violence of the most sanguinary epochs. Boucher, preaching Lent at St. Germain, L'Auxerrois, maintained that "they ought to kill everybody, that it was quite time to put hand to the knife, and exterminate those of the parliament and others."

Rose, on his part, exclaimed that a bleeding of St. Bartholomew was necessary, and that it was essential to cut the neck of the malady.

After Henry had caused the Lorraine chiefs to be assassinated at Blois, it was, no doubt, a terrible and a sublime moment when Guincestre, in the pulpit of the church of St. Barthélemy, required from all his hearers the oath that they would employ the last penny of their purse, and the last drop of their blood, to avenge the new martyrs. "Raise your hand," he said to the president, De Harlay, seated in front of him, "raise it well up, if you please, Monsieur le President, that all the world may see you." And the president was obliged to obey, for the people, excited by the demagogic harangue, would have infallibly torn him in pieces.

The eloquence of the preachers spoke sometimes to the eyes

of the people by imposing spectacles. Such was a procession, in which above 100,000 persons bearing tapers, extinguished them suddenly, exclaiming: "O God, extinguish thus the house of Valois!" An eye-witness who cannot be suspected, the Protestant D'Aubigné, testifies in these terms to the power that the pulpit possessed over the minds of men. "The ligue party were more benefited than the Reform by sermons, as its preachers had all the great mouth-pieces of the large towns, and then the act of Blois (the murder of the Guises) was a great handle to be used by them.

It was in time of trial that the power of preaching was manifested. The monk Christin, charged to announce to the people the defeat of Ivry, which the sixteen had only learned through a prisoner let go on parole, took for text the words of Scripture: "He whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth."

In his first head he prepared the people of Paris, beloved of God, to receive some severe mark of this divine predilection. He was about to begin his second head, when a courier, entering the church, handed him a letter. Then the orator, rising in his pulpit, with the despatch in his hand, exclaimed that heaven had no doubt inspired him, and wished to make him a prophet on that day. He then related the battle of Ivry to the crowd thus prepared; next, with all the force of his eloquence, he poured forth such pathetic exhortations, such moving prayers, that the people, who at first listened to him in silence and sadly, showed themselves ready to suffer all for the holy cause of the union.

During the siege of Paris, and the famine which accompanied it, it was the preachers again who supported the courage of the people. Their eloquence deserves the fine eulogium that Pliny gives to the Roman orator: *Te dicente, alimenta sua abdicaverunt tribus!*

Yet the oratorical style of that day would not seem choice or refined to us. For instance, Boucher drew this picture of King Henry III.: "This *teigneux* is always *coiffé* with a turban à la Turque which he has never been seen to take off, even at communion. And when this unhappy hypocrite pretends to go and encounter the reisters (German cavalry, *reiter*), he had a German fur coat, with silver frogs, which signified the good intelligence and accord that prevailed between him and these black devils. In short, he was a Turk in his head, a German in his body, a harpy in his hands, an Englishman by his garter, a Pole by his feet, and a true devil in his soul."

If the same preacher called in question the sincerity of the

conversion of the Beauvais, he said : " He has been seen at the same hour a Huguenot and a Catholic, and he is now at Mass. Sound the tambourine ! *Vive le Roi !*"

The Catholic party seized in the hands of its enemies the popular flag, and defended it with more fury. The principle of the ligue was democracy under the tutelage of the Church. The sincerest friends of union wished to reduce France into a republic subject to the pope.

CHAPTER XLVII.

STATES OF ORLEANS (A.D. 1561).

SEVERAL proposals were made in these states to reform the Church, and improve the administration ; but the wise measures attempted by L'Hopital met with great opposition.

The Bourbons were becoming threatening at this time. The King of Navarre had caused himself to be named lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and was opposed by the Duke of Guise, Montmorency, and the Maréchal St. André. Condé was acquitted in June, 1561.

At the States-General, held at Pontoise, there was such a general call for the sequestration of Church property that it was thought a religious revolution had been accomplished.

Soon after occurred the colloquy of Poissy, when the adverse parties passed their time in mutual recrimination. They tried to draw up a confession of faith, but it was condemned by the Sorbonne. In short, nothing was done.

Then came a conflict of the two parties at St. Medard, in Paris, followed by the edict of January, according rights of assembling to the Calvinists outside the walls.

In 1562 the Catholic triumvirate of the Guise party thought the time come for action. At a conflict of both parties, at Vassy, a number of Huguenots were killed, and this was the signal for the civil war. This began by Condé's capturing Orleans, and soon the whole country was a scene of carnage and persecution, the Catholics headed by the ferocious Montluc, and the Calvinists by the equally savage Baron des Adrets. Dauphiné, Provence, Lyonnais, were laid waste, and a horrible massacre took place at Toulouse. This year (1562) was marked by the siege of Rouen, which the Duke of Guise captured, and gave up to pillage for eight days. On the other hand, Condé, with

the help of 3000 German reiters, attacked even the faubourgs of Paris.

After some conferences, quickly broken up, Condé met Montmorency at Dreux, marked by prodigies of valour. The Huguenots had a powerful German cavalry, the Guise party the redoubtable Spanish infantry. Successes were nearly evenly balanced, though the Catholics were supposed to have gained the victory. Montmorency was taken prisoner by the Calvinists, Condé by the Catholics. Eight thousand men were killed in that terrible battle. Guise henceforth became head of the Catholic forces, and received the title of lieutenant-general, while Coligny became head of the Protestants.

ASSASSINATION OF GUISE.

Stirring events rapidly followed. While besieging Orleans, Guise was treacherously murdered by a gentleman of Angoulême, Poltrot, a fanatical Calvinist. Guise was a brave knight, and a conscientious man. His words addressed to his assassin are famous: "If thy religion counsels thee to kill me, not having received any offence from me, mine orders me to pardon! Judge which is the most excellent."

After his death a peace was concluded at Amboise, securing liberty of conscience to the Protestants, and allowing them to hold the towns then in their hands. Condé was restored to court favour. But the old hatreds were not extinguished.

At a royal sitting of the parliament, Charles, then fifteen, was declared of age, and Catherine appeared to drop the sceptre, while in reality she still held it. She still pursued her old political system, and L'Hopital tried to establish toleration. Catherine meeting the Duke of Alva about this time, at Bayonne, was induced by him to adopt stricter measures against the Huguenots.

The second civil war broke out in 1567, and was marked by the battle of St. Denis.

BATTLE OF ST. DENIS.

The Protestants tried to surprise Catherine and the king, who, however, escaped. Then the constable, issuing from Paris with a small army, attacked Condé at St. Denis. The battle only lasted two hours, but was very bloody. The constable was mortally wounded, and Coligny, carried away by his horse, was

nearly taken. Both armies fell back at the same time. In the south the war was carried on in a terrible fashion. Every kind of desecration was practised in the churches, and seventy-two Catholics were butchered at Nismes.

The Peace of Longjumeau (1568), confirming the terms of that of Amboise, was only signed by Catherine to sow disunion among the Calvinists. Condé and Coligny, aware in time of her treachery, escaped, and a third civil war broke out (1569).

BATTLE OF JARNAC.

The most decisive event in this war was the battle of Jarnac, gained by the Catholics, under the Duke of Anjou, over the Protestants, under Condé, who perished there after showing heroic valour.

Henri of Bearn, born at Pau, 1553, was present at this battle, though only fifteen years old. Coligny laid siege to Poitiers at this time, but was forced to raise it.

After a complete defeat of the Calvinists at Montauban, peace was agreed to at St. Germain (1570), based on the preceding treaties, and giving the Protestants four strongholds. Pardon was not in the spirit of the times, or in the mind of Catherine. Surrounded by massacre and ruins, all sentiment of pity had been extinguished in her.

PORTRAIT OF CHARLES IX.

The king, now about twenty-one, was even more clever in dissimulation than his mother. Given to sudden sallies of passion and violent oaths, this dissimulation, not being suspected in him, was the more complete. He had some brilliant qualities, loved hunting, and excelled in bodily exercises. He had a firm voice, liked music, and wrote verses; his face was gentle and pale; his eyes fired up at the least contradiction; he liked gaiety and masquerades, and was popular; he had many friends among the gentlemen, and joined freely in their games; he had neither a weak head, nor a totally depraved heart, but he lived in difficult times. He married Elizabeth of Austria, daughter of Maximilian II.

But a more important marriage took place soon after, that of Margaret, his sister, with Henry, the young King of Navarre. All kinds of enticements were offered to induce Coligny to come to court. At length he went, and was received with many

caresses and favours. One night, going to rest, he said to Catherine, "Well, madame, what do you think; did I not play my part well?"

Immediately after followed the death of Jeanne d'Albret, mother of Henry, who had also received every mark of affection from Charles. She is said to have been poisoned by scented gloves. Many Protestants took the alarm, but Coligny was flattered by the attention of the court, and suspected nothing.

MASSACRE OF SAINT BARTHOLOMEW.

The marriage of Henry and Margaret followed soon after, and the Catholics were much scandalized that the crowds of Huguenots at Paris on the occasion of the marriage did not attend the mass.

The moment of the crisis approached. All the intimate counsellors of the queen agreed that the Huguenots must be crushed. Catherine saw the royal authority in danger, especially through the Huguenots, and thought that the odium of violent measures would fall on the Guises. It is certain that she sanctioned them in giving reins to their vengeance.

Maurevel was charged to massacre Coligny on issuing from the Louvre. The blow was not mortal, and the king affected great wrath, and surrounded the dying admiral with all kinds of attentions. Alarmed at the attempt, the Calvinists made loud demands for justice, and their threats of violence, if refused, provoked the crisis. The massacre, sanctioned by Charles, was then devised. Saturday night, 23rd August, 1572, all was provided: the partisans of the ligue were armed, and bore white crosses on their sleeve; and at 1.30 after midnight, August 24th, the bell of the palace gave the alarm. The streets were filled with soldiers; men rose up on all hands, with white crosses on their sleeves, crying, "Vive Dieu et le Roi!" Lights were in all windows, and the tocsin sounded.

The wounded Coligny was pierced by Besme and others, and thrown out of the window, and massacres were rife throughout Paris. Even many Catholics perished on that dreadful night; but the number of victims in the capital and provinces has been exaggerated. At Paris they were 2000. In France accounts vary from 30,000 to 100,000.

The brutality of Charles IX. on that occasion is historical. He is said to have fired on the Huguenots from a window of the Louvre.

But the crime was useless. Rochelle defied all the efforts of the royal army, and peace was concluded at that time (1573), granting Protestant worship only to three towns of France.

Spain had all this time a determining influence on French affairs.

In 1573, Henry, Duke of Anjou, brother of the king, was chosen King of Poland, and a new party, *des politiques*, arose, headed by the Duc d'Alençon, another of the king's brothers, who proposed an insurrection, but had not courage to carry it out.

Soon after, Charles, who had a weak chest, succumbed, after an unhappy and disgraceful reign. His death is said to have been dreadful. He saw nothing but blood around him, and his suffering was so great that blood issued from his pores.

HENRY III.

This reign was an unhappy period for France. Previous to the king's return from Poland, Catherine conducted the regency, and tried to keep all quiet by dissimulation.

The king showed his character immediately on his return. He was surrounded by young and brilliant seigneurs, thinking of nothing but dress, and his frivolous tastes kept away all serious occupation. His devotion was puerile and theatrical. The Cardinal of Lorraine died in 1574, and France was now divided into three parties, the extreme Catholics and the Protestants, and between them a moderate party of *politiques*, who wished the king to extend the principles of tolerance to all.

But the king plunged daily deeper in frivolity. D'Alençon put himself at the head of the discontented, and Henry of Navarre escaped to Guyenne. The king, alarmed, concluded a treaty with his brother (Paix de Monsieur, 1575), giving him Berry, Anjou, and Touraine.

This peace satisfied no one. The Saint Ligue was formed this year (1576) in defence of the Catholics, and France was now divided between two powerful associations. The ambition of the Guises began to have no limits. They aspired to the crown openly. Henry thought to destroy them by declaring himself head of the ligue.

The States of Blois, called 1570, expressed a wish that there should only be one religion in France. This was to declare war on the Protestants. Armies were set on foot, but a peace was

arranged at Poitiers to the advantage of the Huguenots, and forbidding all liguees.

CHARACTER AND COURT OF HENRY III.

Henry III. was not wanting in courage, but destroyed by his indolence. He had not the strength or address of his brother, Charles IX., but he liked the arts and poetry and unfortunately above all the subtle policy of Machiavelli.

The king's mignons or favourites were odious persons—mocking, supercilious, effeminate. They wore long hair in curls, and frizzled under little velvet caps like women; yet those very men carried the contempt of death to ferocity. His prime favourites were Anne de Joyeuse and Nogaret de la Vallette, men of talent and ambition. It was at this time that D'Alençon was called to govern the Netherlands by the Catholics, and, after a short disgraceful career, died there, aged only thirty. By his death, Henry of Navarre became heir to the crown.

Guise, who aimed at the throne, placed the ligue under the protection of Philip II. This ligue had now become very powerful, and was composed of men of all classes. Seeing the indolence of the king, the ligue resolved on revolt; at length the king ceded their request, and, by the treaty of Nemours, revoked all stipulation of tolerance.

Soon after broke out the war of the three Henries,—the politiques or party of Henry III., the ligue under Henry of Guise, the Huguenots under Henry of Navarre. The three armies were differently composed. That of Henry of Navarre, simple, austere, rough, good at fighting; that of the ligue, composed of townsmen and tradesmen without much discipline, less formidable than the Huguenot knights; lastly, the king's forces, formed of a crowd of courtiers, full of show and frivolity, but brave.

Various vicissitudes marked the war that ensued. Henry of Navarre gained the battle of Coutras, 1587, and an army of 36,000 foreigners, in the king's pay, was defeated by Guise at Vimory and Auneau, and soon after Guise entered Paris, though forbidden to do so, and received an ovation from the people, who, when the king brought in the Swiss to drive him out, raised barricades amidst cries of *Vive Guise*, and would have massacred the Swiss, if Guise had not delivered them.

At the Second States of Blois, the deputies quite defied the king, who was in despair, and wicked enough to plot the assassination of Guise, who aimed at the throne.

On Thursday, December 22nd, 1588, Guise was at dinner, when he received a note : " Donnez vous en garde, on est sur le point de vous jouer un mauvais tour : " he wrote at the bottom, " On n'oserait." Like Cæsar, he persisted in going to the council. The king was fidgety and unhappy the next morning. Presently the duke came and was seated. As he was leaving he was seized by the Sieur de Montsery, and as the duke was falling back for defence he was struck with a dagger, his last words being, " Ah, traître, tu en mourras !" He was then struck in all parts of the body, but he was so strong that he dragged his murderers to the foot of the bed of the king, who, kicking the body, said, " Mon Dieu, qu'il est grand ! Il paraît encore plus grand mort que vivant !"

Catherine was disturbed at the news, as she saw the ruin of her son must ensue. She died January, 1589.

The fury of the Parisians knew no bounds at the intelligence of the murder. The churches of Paris were hung in black, and all politics arrested. The king's arms were taken down everywhere, nor would the States support him. The Duke de Mayenne, a moderate member of the Guise party, headed the ligue, and the king united with Henry of Navarre. But Henry III. was not to survive his crime long. At thirty-eight, Jacques Clement, a young Dominican of Sers, stabbed him, having obtained an audience under some pretext (1589).

CHAPTER XLVIII.

HENRY IV.

HENRY III. had named Navarre as his successor, but Mayenne took the title of Charles X. The competitors came to blows at Arques, 1589, and the ligue was defeated by the troops of the Bernois. Soon after, Henry of Navarre took the faubourgs of Paris, but had to retire on the approach of Mayenne. Then ensued the battle of Ivry, when Henry gained a splendid victory, after which he besieged Paris and almost reduced it by famine. A Spanish army, under the Duke of Parma, relieved the capital, and Henry IV. was, for a time, foiled in his attempts. His best friends were falling off from him at this time, and Ranke would suggest that his difficult position induced Henry to abjure Protestantism at this juncture. The abjuration was made with

great pomp at St. Denis. A truce was signed between Mayenne and Henry of Navarre, who was crowned at Reims, and entered Paris as king, 1594, but pistol in hand, and through the treachery of Cossé Brissac of the ligue party.

Before entering his palace, Henry went to return thanks at the cathedral. Then he gave a general pardon. The submission of the provinces followed, and, after an attempt at assassinating the king by Chatel, Henry expelled the Jesuits. Mayenne soon after submitted to the king, who received him in the garden of Monceaux and embraced him. Mayenne was henceforth loyal to the king.

EDICT OF NANTES.

By the Edict of Nantes (1598) liberty of conscience was granted to the Huguenots throughout France, who now enjoyed equal rights as citizens.

PORTRAIT OF HENRY IV.

The king, on his entrance into Paris, was forty-one years of age. His Pyrenean complexion had been still more bronzed by the wear of war; his beard was thick and tufty, his hair already grizzled appeared under his steel casque, surmounted by a few floating plumes. He had small piercing eyes, and high cheek bones, a long aquiline nose, long gray moustaches. His mouth and chin showed signs of age in the prime of life. In character he had a Gascon gaiety, was fond of pleasantry, frank and yet skilful in dissimulation, full of southern merriment, made still more piquant by his Bearnois accent and military roughness. His first wife, Margaret, sister of Charles IX., was devoted to dissipation, though a gifted lady. She was divorced in 1599. The king's



MARIE DE MEDICIS.

a native of Angoulême, mounted the steps of the coach and

second wife was Mary of Medicis, daughter of Francis II., Grand Duke of Florence. The only stain on the remainder of Henry's tranquil reign was the execution of Biron. This great and good king was assassinated May 14th, 1610, whilst he was taking a drive to see Sully, who was unwell. Whilst the royal coach was stopped by a wine cart at the meeting of the Rue de la Ferronnerie with the Rue St. Honoré, a wretch, named Ravallac,

stabbed the king, who cried out, "Je suis blessé!" Ravallac struck the king again in the heart, and Henry, giving a deep sigh, fell back dead.

Thus perished this great king, who personified the noble attempt to give peace to the rival creeds.

SULLY.

Maximilian de Bethune, Marquis de Rosny, Duc de Sully, superintended the finances till his death, being also a special friend of the king. Sully never flattered his master. On one occasion he tore up Henry's written promise to marry Henriette d'Entragues, and, when the king said to him, "Sully, you are mad!" he replied, "Would I were the only madman on earth." Cabals were formed against the great minister, but he triumphed over them, and the king then used the memorable expression, "People would think I was pardoning you."

The political system of Henry developed by Richelieu was to counterbalance the House of Austria by northern alliances. As a general summary of the king's virtues it may be remarked that his character was full of fire, his language witty, often magnanimous, his letters full of originality, and himself the soul of bravery. St. Louis and Henry IV., are the great kings of France.

BENEFITS OF HIS REIGN.

Henry did all in his power to improve the police and make his people flourishing. He wished that all the peasants should have a *poule au pot*. The strongholds were strengthened, justice reformed, agriculture encouraged, industry and art protected, Paris embellished, Saint Germain, Fontainebleau and the Louvre almost built. He founded the Bibliothèque Royale, established tolerance, dug the canal of Briare from the Seine to the Loire, established woollen, silk, and glass manufactures, and paid off a debt of 100 millions.

SPANISH INFLUENCE IN FRANCE.—HENRY IV.

The first half of the great century of French history (the seventeenth) seems at first sight quite Spanish. The literary influence of Spain survived its political power; it was the echo of its glory.

From the time of Charles V. the Catholic monarchy, overflowing from the peninsula, had washed over all the frontiers of France with its flood-tide. Under Philip II. it had at one mo-

ment, under the shadow of the league, even penetrated to the heart of France. Spain had presided over the States-General of France in the person of its ambassadors.

Henry IV. drove back the torrent, he restored France to herself, and hence he became the most popular of French kings. A strong organization is developed in crises that seem calculated to overwhelm it. France gained by the invasion of Italian and Spanish influence. The feeling of art and for beauty was awakened in her. The interest attaching to the early part of the seventeenth century, is to see how the national genius freed itself by degrees from the heterogeneous elements that had polished it, but threatened to change it. Now France showed herself again to Europe as full of common sense and as judicious as ever, but more refined, more noble, and more elegant than in the sixteenth century.

The victor of Ivry had driven the Spaniards from France, but not their fashions, nor their ideas. In Paris nothing was seen but Hispaniolized Frenchmen. Costume, attitude, language, all recalled the proud soldiers they had so long combated and admired. Nothing is so courteous as a Frenchman to his enemies. He imitates them even when he beats them. Pointed beards, felt hats, with long felt doublet (pourpoint) and breeches (haut-de-chausses) half loosened, ribbons on the legs, such was the attire of people of this stamp. Nothing was heard to issue from their mouths but Castilian expressions and exclamations. They repeated terms, such as Jesus-sire, and cried out with a mournful voice : "*Il faut en mourir !*"

Fashion was stronger than Sully, or Henry IV. The most French of French kings put on, malgré lui, the sable dress of Philip II., and in his more advanced years he set to work grumblingly to learn Spanish, as Cato the censor learnt Greek.

The focus of all these foreign imitations was the Hôtel de Rambouillet. This noted place of assembly did not lead in bad taste, but suffered it. It had also a great share in refining French manners, and giving greater delicacy to the French tongue.

After the great civil wars of the sixteenth century, the want was strongly felt in the upper ranks of society of meeting together, and of inaugurating that life sparkling with the interchange of wit which is the characteristic of the French nation. Hitherto the practice had been to dispute, to preach, to harangue; they began now to converse. The first circle where a lively, witty communication began, answering to the new want,

was in the hotel of the Marquis de Pisani, Jean de Vivonne. Built a short distance from the Louvre, this house seemed no less brilliant a court than that of Mary of Medici. It was the palace of wit beside that of power. Three women reigned there in succession; for to woman alone could be given the work to educate the age in convenances and good taste. The first, Julia Savelli, wife of the marquis, was a noble and graceful lady, of Italian descent, who came, like another Armida, to constrain the proud companions of Henry IV., the Bearnois, to dress their rough speech, and set aside their boots and spurs. Her daughter, Catherine de Vivonne, Marquise de Rambouillet, had all the brilliancy of Tuscan society, without its licence. The rigidity of her principles had even kept her away from the free and easy court of Henry IV.; but she liked homage, and under the romantic name of Arthenice (anagram of Catherine) she favoured the introduction of an innocent gallantry brought into fashion by Italian poets.

The sceptre passed from this lady to Julia d'Augennes, daughter of Catherine, and her reign (from 1629 to 1648) was the most brilliant period of the Hôtel de Rambouillet. Her cortège of followers consisted of Condé, Contis, La Rochefoucauld, Bussy, Gramont, and other notorieties of the day.

Mademoiselle de Rambouillet received, as divinity, incense from all hands; all people who meddled with writing hastened to write verses in her honour. On the 1st of January, 1641, Julia found on her toilette-table, says Huet, Bishop of Avranches, the prettiest and most ingenious present that love could devise. There were two quires (cahiers) of vellum, exactly similar, each leaf of which contained one of the most beautiful flowers, painted in miniature by Robart, and accompanied with a madrigal composed by the best poets. This pretty cadeau was named the Garland of Julia, having twenty-nine flowers, accompanied by the verses of nineteen poets.

Nothing was more salutary than the sovereign and uncontested sway of women at this time. The précieuses, as these polished ladies were styled—in the first instance out of respect—set to work to de-vulgarize the French tongue with all the tact of their sex. From that time society recognized the charm of conversation; men of letters became men of the world, and were admitted into it as equals in the most illustrious assemblies—a high appreciation of intellectual merit to which England has not yet advanced. Thus by degrees was prepared the happy fusion of ideas and of forms of society and life that was to be so wondrously carried out under Louis Quatorze.

Nevertheless the Hôtel de Rambouillet was rather too exclusive—tabooed to the profane. Moreover, there was a danger of its over-refinement passing into affectation, which actually took place, and was satirized by Molière and La Bruyère.

It was in imitation of the Hôtel de Rambouillet that those ruelles were formed, in which the defects of the model were exaggerated. There were also précieuses in the provinces, and Chapelle describes in his travels an assembly of the précieuses of Montpellier, whom he recognized as such by their *petites mignardises* (affected ways), *leur parler gras* (thick, affected speech), and their extraordinary style of talk.

At Paris, besides the ruelles of Rambouillet and of Sévigné, there were those of Bregy, of Chevreuse, of Cornuel, and of Scudery. The habits of these reunions seem strange to us. "The women affected a romantic exaggeration of sentiment. They only called each other *ma chère*, and this term came to be used generally to designate them."

"A *chère*, or *précieuse*, had to go to bed about the time when she usually received visits. Every visitor came to take a place in her alcove, with which the ruelle was daintily ornamented. It was necessary to prove that you knew the end of things (*final causes*), the great end, the end of ends, *fin des fins*, to be presented to the men who gave the tone there. The abbés de Bellebat and du Buisson had, according to the dictionary of the *précieuses*, by Saumaise, the title of grand introducers of the ruelles. It was at the house of these abbés that young men went to get coached in what was considered indispensable for those who wished to frequent the circles of the *chères* (dears)."

CHAPTER XLIX.

RICHELIEU.—LOUIS XIII.

THIS reign consists of the struggle between a dying feudalism and absolute power. It is divided into two distinct parts. In the first, the royal authority is compromised by plots, and it ends by Richelieu entering the council. The second part consists of the administration of the great cardinal.

Mary of Medicis was declared regent during the minority of her son. Her character is described as courageous, haughty,

firm, vain, obstinate, vindictive, distrustful, and loving pomp. Her Italian partialities were strongly marked in the choice of her council of ministers. Several of the princes gave trouble by their discontent, especially Condé, Longueville, Mayenne (1613). In 1614 the king was of age, but he was always devoted to amusement, and could not attend much to business. His education had been neglected. The malcontents under Condé revolted again in 1615, while the king was married to Anne of Austria. Meanwhile the princes revolted under Condé and Rohan, who armed the Huguenots; but at the Treaty of Loudun, Louis granted more than he was asked. Soon after this Condé was arrested, and a civil war broke out in Berry and Soissonnais. Eventually the queen-mother was exiled to Blois, whence she escaped to Angoulême, while Condé was set free at Vincennes. A fourth ligue of malcontents led to a collision of the king with Condé in Normandy, but ending in a reconciliation (1619) and amnesty.

LA ROCHELLE.

But the Huguenots would not be put down in Bearn, and resisted at La Rochelle. They proposed to form a republic in France, which rose against them.

The resistance at Montauban was vigorous, and the siege had to be raised. At length the Calvinists agreed to terms at Montpellier, only retaining La Rochelle.

RICHELIEU.

Cardinal de Richelieu was called to the council in 1622, and ruled France to 1643. He was thirty-eight years old, of a feeble constitution, often ill, with a pale complexion, a high forehead, black hair hanging down, arched eyebrows, large and sparkling eyes, an aquiline nose, a well-cut mouth; and then on his thin, striking face place a red beretta, and the scarlet robe and cordon, unite to it his severe expression, his stately walk, his clear, emphatic speech, full of charm, his prompt wit, his prudent, but resolute spirit, and you have the great cardinal evoked from the dust of the past, living before you.

SYSTEM OF RICHELIEU.

The system of Richelieu can be viewed in three aspects. First, foreign policy; second, home policy; third, the unity of the royal prerogative.

Under the first point of view, the cardinal-minister attained his end, and it was here he showed his great power. The first part of his sway is summed up in alliances to prepare for war. He carried out the conceptions of Henry IV., for his plan had nothing new in it. It consisted of an alliance with the States-General of Holland, and with Switzerland, subsidies paid to the German Protestant princes—all steps already taken by Henry IV., to which Richelieu only added an alliance with Gustavus of Sweden.

When the war broke out, forming the second part of Richelieu's foreign ministry, the cardinal pursued his end, developing immense resources. Nothing stopped him—neither the misery of the people, nor the cry for peace; it was to the minister that was due the brilliant military force of France, at that time exceeding 200,000 men. At his death, conquest was in progress—Lorraine and Savoy were annexed, the Netherlands invaded, Catalonia for a time united to France, and Portugal separated from Spain.

Viewed under the aspect of home affairs, Richelieu aimed at the destruction of provincial liberties. He effected his purpose by creating intendants and abolishing provincial governments. Richelieu's power consisted in bending all social forces to his will. He felt that the Spanish ministry was the hereditary enemy of France, and he attacked it boldly. The cardinal would allow no obstacle to stand in his way. He proscribes the royal family, he brings the noblesse to the block, he wishes even to master intelligence. All that is bold and strong, all that is a social force is collected under his hand. Poets, writers, gazetteers are called to back him. If they resist he persecutes them. His agents prepare public opinion for him. At his death he had obtained his end, though he saw a reaction was at hand.

The death of the great cardinal was soon followed by that of the king (1643), who gave over the regency to Anne of Austria, aided by Cardinal Mazarin.

CHAPTER I.

LOUIS XIV.

THERE was growing up amidst the sanguinary frivolities of the Fronde, the man who was to give to France what she desired most—that strict unity which has made her strength and glory,

and, perhaps, wrought her ruin. Royalty, the national personification of the people, was at that time the only form under which the nation could view and understand itself. Louis XIV. was the most glorious expression of royalty.

His person seemed made for his part. His stature and bearing and his grand countenance announced the sovereign; a natural majesty accompanied all his actions, and commanded respect. He made up for the defects of education by a quiet fund of sound sense. He had the instinct of power, the wish to direct, faith in himself, so necessary in order to command others. He entered his age as if at home in it. His maxim was quite opposed to that of vulgar tyrannies; he wished to unite in order to reign. He collected round his throne all that had influence or splendour; nobility, fortune, science, genius, valour, came like so many rays to shine round his crown. The people, tired of civil war, clung to the king as to its defender; the bourgeoisie was readily attached to this master of its masters, which placed all classes on the level of obedience.

The aristocracy, as in the time of Francis I., abandoned once more its tiresome châteaux for the elegant domesticity of the court. But its presence was no longer threatening to royalty. Richelieu had broken its pride for ever; and the abortive reaction of the Fronde, which was a parliamentary revolution stirred up by the nobility, proved its impotence in its own eyes. Henceforth the nobility would be nothing but by and with the king. It might become a burden to France, but it could no longer be a danger.

It is from the court, from the steps of the throne, that the intellectual movement of the time should be viewed and embraced. The man who said "*L'état c'est moi*," could also say, "*Letters, arts, the thoughts of my time, c'est moi*;" not that the century had abdicated in favour of the tastes and opinions of the monarch, but because this monarch represented in the most striking manner, in a brilliant personality, the opinions, tastes, and aspirations of his epoch.

In the first place, this royalty wished to develop in circumstances of ease, and to create an envelope or form for itself. It abandoned the Louvre, though marking it with its stamp, where the médecin Claude Perrault erected an imposing, noble, rich, and most correct colonnade in point of style. But Versailles was the place where royalty was to display all its splendour. The Louvre was nothing but a palace, swallowed up in the populous city; where royalty might fancy it still heard the murmurs of the riot

that outraged its infancy. Royalty needs a town made by itself and filled by itself alone.

"St. Germain," remarks St. Simon, "offered to Louis XIV. a town ready made in the best of positions." He abandoned it for Versailles, the most triste and graceless of places, without a view, without wood or water, or earth; between all there is moving sand or marsh.

He took pleasure in tyrannizing over nature, in subduing it by dint of art and treasure. He found at Versailles nothing but a miserable cabaret; he built a whole city there.

This palace, as the Duc de Crequi wittily says, is a "*favori sans mérite*," owing all to its master, and the more pleasing to him on that account. Versailles is the symbolic work of the reign of Louis XIV. It reveals its thought, its grandeur, its immense and cruel egotism. The eastern façade, fronting Paris, presents an irregular pile of buildings, where the modest château of Louis XIII., with its brick walls, is enveloped by new and vast constructions. These courts of unequal size lead you to the sanctuary where royal majesty reposes. It is to the west that Versailles is really itself. There are immense façades opening out into a perfect regularity, nothing is wanting in the strict uniformity of this development. No more turrets, spirals, or any trace of the old national architecture. One single block of building stands out amidst all this straight line. It is there that the master dwells; the two wings fall back and keep at a respectful distance.

This palace was built by Jules Hardouin Mansard; Lebrun peopled it with paintings. With his imposing breadth, his science of theatrical effect, he throws all Olympus at the feet of the King of France. Mythology became a magnificent allegory, of which Louis XIV. is the reality. Conquered nations are personified there—Germany, Holland, Spain, even Rome, bend the knee reverently before the great king, but nowhere appears the figure of France, only that of Louis.

A third artist completed the work of Mansard and Lebrun; Le Notre created a country scene for his royal house. From the windows of his incomparable gallery Louis saw nothing but his own work. The horizon is all his making, for it is formed by the gardens. Those bosquets, those stiff, straight avenues are nothing but the indefinite prolongation of the palace; it is an architecture in plants reproducing completely the architecture in stone. The trees only grow under the rule and square, the waters, brought at great cost into that airy spot, only spout out on a regular pattern. A thousand marble and bronze statues are

the very mythological paintings of this château de verdure, and like those of Lebrun, present the apotheosis of the king.

France paid to build Versailles a sum equivalent now to \$400,000,000. The luxury of peace was almost as fatal to the people as the ambitions of war. But the king can contemplate himself and admire himself in the naïveté of his egotism. He has created around him a little universe of which he is the centre and the life. This was the model he prepared for his artists; this was the symbol that all the poets and writers more or less reproduce.

Versailles, though freshened up again by the happy thought of Louis-Philippe, is only a shadow of its former self. To find it again we must re-people it, restore its brilliant decorated crowds, its splendid fêtes as painted by Madame de Sévigné. "What shall I tell you? Magnificence, illumination, all France, gold-lace coats, braziers of fire and of flowers, crush in the street, carriages blocking the way, lighted torches, wild dissipation, questions eliciting no answer, compliments broadcast at random, civilities in a whirlwind, fast caught and twisted up with queues or pig-tails."



Louis was the soul of his court as of his palace. It was he who inspired the grace and wit of the woman, the valour and politesse of the warrior, the emulation and almost the genius of the artist. The court lived and died by his looks. Far from avoiding his part as a brother, he is only at home when acting the king. He plays it with the satisfaction and success of a good actor. He draws after him and gives parts to that brilliant world which belongs to him. Still more than Mansard, Lebrun, and Le Notre, he himself made his Versailles a living Versailles, full also of elegance and majesty.

Literature took the same shape. Poetry was cut fine and clipped like the ifs of the lawn. Boileau is akin to Le Notre. The French language will attain full polish in such a medium. The society of women, the long talks about airy nothings, court-intrigues, the science of passion and of weaknesses, the court, in

short, what an excellent school it is to make talent supple, to break it in to the learned fencing of the tongue. "Louis XIV.," says St. Simon, "never passed before the least coiffe (woman's headdress) without taking off his hat, I mean to the femmes-de-chambre whom he knew to be such." Hence the poets of the age, even when slandering women seek to please them, and this respect will give happiness—the siècle of Louis XIV. will be the siècle of *taste*. Under Louis XIV. to converse was to live, was the whole of life, to which wit, imagination, and taste were devoted as to a work of art. Madame de Sévigné bears the impress of this spirit in all her writings, and it appears again in La Rochefoucauld, La Bruyère, and others.

REIGN OF LOUIS XIV.—ADMINISTRATION.

The reign of Louis XIV. is that of unity, of glory, of all the splendours issuing from a strong, daring, and absolute monarchy.

Continuing the skilful work of Richelieu, the grand monarque completed it. The polity of his whole life was a reaction against the Fronde, which had troubled his infancy and compromised his dignity and his crown.

His great work was the close unity of government, the centralization of France, in a word, nationality. How did he effect this? At the death of Mazarin, the minister of the queen-regent, his mother, Louis would have no ministers who rule while effacing the king. He became the state and the government. "L'état c'est moi." He even followed up this course during the ardent dissipation of youth, and pursued it with the same energy amid the sorrows of age. Louis XIV. was the most hard-working man of his kingdom.

He pursued the threefold idea of Richelieu, but by different means. He drew around him the noblesse, used it in his army, dazzled it with his fêtes. The Huguenots were deprived of their rights and driven into exile by the repeal of the Edict of Nantes, an act of great injustice and folly. His parliaments were silenced. He never ceased combating Austria, and made the French name hated in Germany.

He raised France to greatness, and made her for a time arbitress of nations. In fashions, language, influence, and letters, he centred round him a group of all kinds of genius. With many grave defects, a faithless husband, an ungrateful son, jealous, mean, unmerciful, weighing down his people with taxes to please his vanity, he was yet a great king. He embellished and raised France. He had an exquisitely sound sense and great nobleness,

he never abandoned those he had undertaken to defend. His generosity was unlimited and delicate.

His great finance minister, Colbert, reduced to order the chaos in which he found the administration. Commerce and industry were almost created by this minister. Louis encouraged all kinds of manufacture, introduced from abroad carpets, jewellery, and above all porcelain at Sèvres and the Gobelin tapestries. Colbert introduced a protection system. The roads were improved, the Canal de Languedoc was cut. The streets of Paris were cleaned, paved, lighted, and guarded. The observatory, the Jardin des Plantes, are due to this reign, also the Hôtel des Invalides for veteran soldiers. The French navy was created by Louis, who established arsenals at Brest, Toulon, Rochefort, &c. The naval service comprised 60,000 men. France obtained a great accession of colonies in this reign. Colbert created the East and West India Companies of France.

The military art took a new development under Louis XIV. Uniforms were given to the troops, the bayonet was introduced, the art of fortification was carried very far by Vauban.

The Academies of Inscriptions and Sciences were founded in this reign, the laws were reformed by the Chancellor Seguier Pussert, Bignon, and others, and French literature reached its height in Racine, Corneille, Molière, La Fontaine, Fénelon, Bossuet, and Boileau. The national sciences were much cultivated by Pascal and Bernouille, classics by Saumaise and the Daciers, music by Lulli, Clerambaut, and Bernier, and the fine arts by Mansard, Lebrun, and Puget.

MILITARY EVENTS.

We put these purposely last, for they do not constitute, like civil triumphs, the true glory of a reign. The commencement of his reign was marked by great victories. Richelieu had set six armies on foot. At Rocroy the Duc d'Enghien defeated the veteran Spanish infantry (1643). Condé, with Turenne, gained another victory over Austria at Fribourg (1644), and a third at Nordlingen was won by Enghien, now Prince of Condé. Turenne gained other advantages in Germany. This war finished at the Peace of Westphalia, by which France gained Alsace.

The war of the Fronde followed, chiefly provoked by onerous taxes leading to barricades. There was much disturbance in Paris, the Cardinal de Retz heading the Fronde with Condé, Bouillon, and others. After much division and skirmishing the refractory came to terms with the king's party at the Treaty of

Rueil (1649). But further troubles broke out, and Mazarin, with the royal family, ran great danger till rescued by Turenne in 1651. The combat du Faubourg St. Antoine settled the Fronde, and Mazarin finally returned from exile (1652).

Shortly after Turenne gained a victory over the Spaniards with English aid at Dunes, and a peace was concluded. (Peace of the Pyrenees, 1659).

The next war of Louis was in Flanders (1665—68), occasioned by the death of Philip IV. of Spain, giving Louis pretext for laying claim to parts of Flanders. This war resulted in the conquest of Flanders and Franche-Comté, which was restored at the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668). The following year Louis made war on the Dutch in alliance with England. The powerful French army, led by Condé and Turenne, crossed the Rhine (1672), with the king, and almost took Amsterdam, but De Ruyter did wonders at sea, and the English parliament forcing Charles II. to come to peace with the Dutch, the House of Austria stood forward to protect Holland, and the war passed to the Palatinate.

It has been seen elsewhere that the French ministry sanctioned on this occasion horrors and atrocities worthy of the Vandals, laying in ashes many flourishing cities, and converting the beautiful Rhine valley into a howling wilderness. Much fighting took place at this time between Montecucculi, the Austrian general, and Turenne. Franche-Comté was taken by Louis, and a drawn battle was fought at Senef (1674), between Condé and the Prince of Orange. Soon after Turenne was killed in the battle at Saltzbach. This war was concluded by the Treaty of Nymwegen (1678), France retaining Franche-Comté.

In the midst of peace Louis surprised Strasbourg in 1682, and after the expulsion of James II. from England (1688), Louis engaged in a fresh war with William of Orange. The worst ravages of the Palatinate took place at this time, for Austria was allied with William to check the ambition of Louis. It was now that France was saved by a galaxy of great talent, having as generals Luxembourg, Catinat, and Vendôme; and as sailors Duguay Trouin and Jean Bart. The principal military engagements of this war were the battles of Fleurus, Steinkerke, and of Neerwinden (1690, 1692, 1693). Luxembourg, already victorious at Fleurus, in 1690, over the Prince of Waldeck, was so again at Steinkerke, where he forced William to retreat. The following year he gained the celebrated battle of Neerwinden. Louis himself was present at the sieges of Mons and of Namur.

About the same time Catinat beat Victor Amadeus, Duke of Savoy, at Staffarde, and later at Marseilles. All Savoy, and part of Piedmont, were made subject to France. Since the devastation of the Palatinate the war had assumed a character of ferocity. Duguay Trouin and Jean Bart harassed the enemy's commerce, and the allies in their turn bombarded Dieppe and Havre, and nearly destroyed St. Malo.

The campaigns of 1695 and 1696 produced no very decisive results. France lost Luxembourg, its hero, and its best leaders were now Boufflers, Villeroy, and Vauban.

Louvois had died 1691, and there was no one to replace his activity. In 1697 was concluded the Peace of Ryswick, in which William was recognized by Louis, and all his conquests were restored except Franche-Comté, Strasbourg, Artois, and Roussillon.



MADAME DE MAINTENON.

MADAME DE MAINTENON.

Louis lost his queen, Marie Thérèse, a model of gentle virtues, in 1683. After her death the king married secretly Madame de Maintenon (Françoise d'Aubigné, widow of the poet Scarron), a clever woman, who made her society and conversation necessary to Louis, who was ennuyé by every one else.

WAR OF SUCCESSION IN SPAIN.

The congress of Ryswick had neglected to regulate the succession in Spain, about to be debated by the approaching death of Charles II. of Spain; Louis XIV. and Leopold of Austria both being competitors. Louis XIV. and Leopold both descended in the same degree of relationship from Philip III., but Louis XIV. was the son of the eldest daughter of that prince, Anna of Austria; Leopold of the youngest, Mary Anne and Ferdinand III. France had another advantage in that the dauphin was the grandson of Philip IV. by his mother Marie Thérèse.

But the emperor had in his favour the sanction of many authentic renunciations ratified by Louis XIII. and XIV. to the crown of Spain.

The allies opposed to Louis tried to make the crown of Spain pass to other hands, and especially to Charles of Austria, second

son of Leopold ; but Charles, weak in mind and the plaything of those about him, made a will in favour of Philip of Anjou, second son of the dauphin.

This led to the war of succession from 1701 to 1713, which has been detailed in the histories of England and Germany. Here we only give a brief sketch of the war.

Beginning in Italy the war turned against France under the able leadership of Prince Eugène of Savoy on the Austrian side. Villeroy was beaten at Cremona, and Vendôme at Turin, and the French were driven from Lombardy (1706).

Marlborough gained the crushing victory of Hochstedt or Blenheim, in Bavaria, 1704, of Ramillies, 1706, giving him Brussels and Brabant, of Oudenarde in 1708, in conjunction with Eugène, over Villeroy and the Duc de Bourbon.

A dreadful famine resulted from a winter of unusual severity in 1709 ; but in Spain a great victory of the Duke of Berwick (1707) had restored the fortunes of Philip. Peace was discussed in 1709, but the belligerents could not come to terms, and in 1709 was fought the terrible battle of Malplaquet, gained by Marlborough and Eugène with dreadful loss of life over Villars. Louis offered fresh terms of peace, but they were rejected ; and he was visited at this time with heavy affliction in his family, losing the dauphin, the Duke of Burgundy, and their eldest son, the Duc d'Anjou.

Meanwhile Vendôme had settled Philip on the throne of Spain by the victory of Villa Viciosa. Court intrigues in England favoured Louis, and all the belligerents being disposed to peace, it was concluded at Utrecht, settling Philip in the throne of Spain, whilst renouncing that of France, and France giving up some American colonies, whilst Spain resigned Gibraltar to England.

Villars gained some further successes in Swabia. Austria came to terms at Radstadt. Louis suffered further bereavements in his latter years, and died with proper sentiments of resignation, 1715, aged nearly seventy-seven years. His reign had lasted seventy-two.

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

The eighteenth century began a great and a double work which it could not bring to an end, to destroy all that is arbitrary in authority, to re-establish it more firmly on the eternal bases of justice and right. The first most ungracious part of the task fell

to the lot of the past. Providence seems to have reserved the constructive part to the present or rather future.

Absolutism had stretched matters too tight. The people had thrown mud on the coffin of Louis XIV. The Regent of Orleans first, and then Louis XV., covered the throne with disgrace. The great lords were dragged at the feet of low court favourites, or soiled their titles of nobility in scandalous orgies. The parliament, animated by a narrow esprit de corps, kept unequal steps with their age; at one time agreeing with it in their resistance to the mad extravagance of the court, the next day keeping back, in the full Middle Ages, by pronouncing a sentence dishonourable to justice. Lastly, too many members of the high clergy were lacking both in faith and morals, and could only defend religion, of which they were the organs, by miserable tracasseries and timid persecutions.

In this decrepitude of the older power one force alone continued to gain ground—that of public opinion. Literature, before an ornament, became now a soul. Government was discussed, and was attempted to be based on public opinion. This feature distinguishes the eighteenth from preceding centuries.

CHAPTER LL.

THE REGENCY.—LOUIS XV.

THE regency of Philip of Orleans is one of the most disgraceful periods of French history. The principal events that marked it are the Mississippi Scheme of Law, the Triple Alliance, and the Quadruple Alliance.

The people had no sooner sung *Te Deums* at the death of Louis, and insulted his coffin, than the regent, Philip of Orleans, took the reins of government. Cardinal Dubois was his worthy minister; the corruption of Henry III. reappeared.

The old corruption of manners was mixed with the new corruption brought about by sudden revolutions of fortune, and due to the modern system of finance. The debt of the state was above 2000 millions, or two milliard French livres. The Due de St. Simon suggested bankruptcy sanctioned by the States-General, which would be called on to sanction this robbery. The regent wished neither bankruptcy nor the return of the States. The currency was depreciated, 337 millions of false

debts were cancelled ; Law undertook to extinguish the rest of the debt by means of his bank, which was only composed at first of 1200 shares of 3000 francs each. Law founded in France public credit and public ruin. His ingenious system offered substantially nothing but a game of hazard, where people went to venture and stake all their money against paper.

Law found favour with the regent. He established a bank in his own name, which became a general bureau de recettes (receiving agency) for the kingdom ; to this he joined a Mississippi company, of which the shares became the rage. The bank was declared the king's bank, 1718. It undertook the commerce of Senegal, and acquired the ancient privileges of the Indian company formed by Colbert. We cannot pursue the fortunes of

this Scotch adventurer, or trace the madness and fatuity of the public. His system reached its apogee in 1720, when he was made Contrôleur-Général of Finances. Suddenly, blind confidence gave way to distrust. More than 800 millions circulated in paper. All at once a panic took place ; credit failed. The value of paper fell more quickly than it had risen, crowds thronged the approaches to the banks ; many were stifled or trodden to death.



Law, proscribed in France, fled to Venice. Thousands of dupes were ruined.

The Triple Alliance was formed against the system of Louis XIV., between the regency, England, and Holland, to oppose Cardinal Alberoni, the minister, and Philip V. of Spain. But the cardinal was an able man. He formed a quadruple alliance with Charles XII. of Sweden, the Czar Peter, and Turkey, and almost reduced Sicily with his fleet.

Many in France were disgusted with the policy of the regent, and formed a conspiracy in favour of Spain under Cellamare. But the correspondence was detected by the able atheistic and corrupt minister of Philip of Orleans, Cardinal Dubois. War soon

after broke out. Berwick invaded Spain, and Spain had some success in Italy; but Alberoni was shortly disgraced, and peace concluded in 1720, by which Austria took Sicily, renouncing all right to Spain.

The regent died soon after (1723). His life had been a mixture of great and little things, of labour and indolence, of duties and excesses. In his private life he had an insatiable curiosity to penetrate the secrets of the Infinite by illegitimate means, such as alchemy and divinations. Like many unbelievers he was profoundly superstitious. He was also addicted to epicurean indolence and an excessive love of natural pleasure, which led to the gross corruption of the court. Yet he was a gifted man. He was skilled in arts, in drawing and music; he painted and engraved with much taste, he composed operas full of fire and feeling, his conversation was brilliant and eloquent. His character was a contradiction.

LOUIS XV.

The young king, grandson of Louis XIV., was declared of age at thirteen, in 1723. His first minister was Cardinal Dubois, then Philip of Orleans, and next Cardinal de Fleury, the happiest of men, the most amiable man in the most delicious of societies. Fleury was distinguished for modesty, was simple, an economist in all things, and had, at the age of eighty, a clear and capable head in business.

Europe was disposed to quarrel as usual, but Fleury kept it quiet in conjunction with Robert Walpole, another man of peace. At length, in 1734, war broke out between France and Austria. Berwick took Lorraine and Kehl, and Villars subdued the Milanese. But returning to France, Berwick was killed at Philippsburg, while the Maréchal de Coigny gained the victories of Parma and Guastalla, in Italy. The war was concluded by the Treaty of Vienna (1735), securing Lorraine to France, after the death of Stanislaus, who received it instead of the throne of Poland. Louis XV. had been married in 1725 to Marie Leccsynska, daughter of this Stanislaus of Poland, a good and virtuous woman, much loved by the king in the first years of their marriage.

WAR OF THE SUCCESSION WITH AUSTRIA.

The middle of the eighteenth century is marked by two European liguees, tending to the destruction of two great Germanic powers; one of these powers, Austria, at one time preponderant, excited at this time under Maria Theresa, by its weakness, the

ambition of the other states. The other power, Prussia, inflamed their jealousy by its sudden rise. Each of these powers engaged the whole of Europe in the struggle. Each of them defended itself with success, happily for the aggressors themselves, whose imprudence was about to destroy the balance of power in Europe. These two wars are, in fact, only one ; though the Seven Years' War has become the historical name of the second.

In the first war, all the princes allied against Austria had contradictory pretensions. The King of Prussia only (the great Frederic) knew what he wanted, and obtained it. The first aim was to extinguish Austria, and deliver Bavaria. Germany was the theatre of war down to 1744 ; France and Prussia were the principal belligerents against Austria. Latterly France fought chiefly in Italy and Flanders. England was the ally of Austria, and assisted her with subsidies. Austria lost only three provinces, but was deeply humiliated by having to cede these provinces to Frederic, who became with England the arbiter of Europe.

The most disastrous part of the war to France was the retreat of the French armies from Prague ; through the midst of enemies, and decimated by the frosts of winter, Marshal de Belle Isle only brought back 13,000. At Dettingen, next year (1743), by a mistaken strategy of Gramont, George II. of England gained a victory over the French.

The war continuing, was marked by the great successes of Frederic of Prussia, while the Maréchal de Saxe gained the battle of Fontenoy over the English, who, however, made an admirable resistance, and retired in perfect order, the loss of the battle resulting chiefly from the ill conduct of the other allied troops. This battle was followed by the expedition of Charles Edward to Scotland, related elsewhere, and in 1746 the victory of Raucoux was gained by the French, who also defeated the Duke of Cumberland in 1747, at Lawfeld, led by Maréchal de Saxe. This war was concluded in 1748, by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in which England and France gave back what they had taken, Maria Theresa obtained the succession of her father, and Prussia retained Silesia.

Soon after this peace Louis changed character, and lost the love of his people. He became extremely corrupt, in a most corrupt court. He was governed by excessive egotism and plunged into disgraceful excesses. Then occurred the attempt to assassinate the king, by François Damiens, who was executed with atrocious tortures.

SEVEN YEARS' WAR.

The causes of this war were the unsettled results left by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. Hostilities were commenced by England, in alliance with Prussia. It was marked first by the capture of Minorca by the French. The unfortunate English admiral, Byng, who fought a drawn battle with the French squadron under La Galissoniere, leading to the surrender of the island, was condemned by court-martial, and shot at Portsmouth.

The French were also successful in Germany, when Richelieu reduced the Duke of Cumberland to conclude the convention of Closter Severn, in which the English left the French free to attack Frederic. But this great captain inflicted the disastrous defeat of Rosbach on the French of the Prince de Soubise, with an army six times larger than the Prussian, but encumbered with pastrycooks, hairdressers, and comedians. The subsequent campaigns of the French (1758—59) in Germany were unfortunate. Ferdinand of Brunswick beat them at Crefelt, Minden, and elsewhere, though the Maréchal de Broglie gained the battle of Berghen, and the French had the upper hand at Corbach (1758—1760).

Matters turned against France in both Indies. Wolfe's defeat of Montcalm and capture of Quebec and Canada, and Lord Clive's conquest of Bengal and Pondicherry, have been related elsewhere (1759—1760).

Then followed the family pact between Spain and France, in fact an association of all members of the House of Bourbon to support each other. But Russia fell off from the contest, all were wearied of strife, Frederic had shown himself the hero of the time, and a treaty was concluded at Paris (1763), by which France gave up a large part of her colonies to England, England restoring Havana to Spain.

The further events of this reign were the expulsion of the Jesuits by the Duc de Choiseul (1764), and the destruction of the parliament. The expulsion of the Jesuits left an immense void in superior education. Soon after followed the death of the dauphin, 1765, and of the queen, 1768. In 1770, Louis, the new dauphin, married Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa, Empress of Austria, and on the occasion of the illuminations attending their wedding, a terrible acci-



MADAME D'ARBLAY.

dent occurred, of sinister augury, by which 1200 persons perished.

In 1774, Louis XV. died of the small-pox, after having asked pardon for the scandals he had occasioned. His reign had not been glorious, yet he promoted the practical research of science in distant voyages; under his reign a terrestrial degree was first measured, the transit of Venus over the sun was observed, and the Jardin des Plantes enriched. Louis XV. founded the *Ecole Militaire* and that of surgery, and established many useful laws. He also instituted in the Louvre an academy of mechanical arts, in which were deposited the first fire-engines.

It was in his reign that the Abbé de la Salle established the gratuitous écoles chrétiennes for the poor. The *Bibliothèque du Roi*, hitherto a useless piece of furniture, became a solid institution. The first paved way from Paris to Reims was made by Cardinal Dubois, a regular system of roads was established throughout France under Louis XV., and the eighteenth century witnessed the construction of fifty-two bridges. The ministers of the reign were Fleury, D'Argenson, Bernis, Choiseul, Terray, and Manpeou; its eminent writers, Voltaire, Helvetius, Buffon, Rousseau, and Montesquieu.

CHAPTER LII.

LOUIS XVI.

LOUIS XVI., grandson of Louis XV., came to the throne at a most critical moment.

The disorder of the finances had not been set right by the repairs of Cardinal Fleury, or the bankrupt minister Terray. Authority had lost respect, parliaments were intractable, public opinion was perverse. Of all princes, Louis XV. was best fitted to cope with the age by his virtues. People were tired of arbitrary measures, and he was prone to give them up; they were irritated at the dissolute ways of Louis XV., and his grandson loved pure morals and simple tastes; he felt the demands of the time and was ready to grant them. But to do good was as difficult as to do harm. Much force was wanted to break down privileges. Louis XVI. wanted the sovereign will that brings about great changes in a state, and as necessary to monarchs who

wish to limit their power as to those who wish to augment it. Louis XVI. had a right spirit, a good and upright heart, but he was without determination or perseverance. He fell by his very attempts at reform. His reign down to the States-General was nothing but a long unprofitable attempt to amend abuses.

His first minister, Maurepas, a frivolous man, was soon set aside, and succeeded by abler men and financiers, Turgot, Malesherbes, and Necker, but not even these could set matters right. Necker succumbed to the jealousy of the courtiers.

France sent an army under Lafayette, to aid the insurrection of America against England (1776), and after inflicting much injury on England, the war did more injury to France by the army bringing back republican principles.

It concluded gloriously for England by the victory of Rodney, and the successful defence of Gibraltar, and peace was concluded at Versailles, France recovering some of her colonies, and England resigning America.

Then followed the ministry of Calonne, a brilliant, witty, imprudent man, substituting prodigality for cunning, and all betokened a speedy crisis, especially the assembly of notables (nobles, clergy, and magistrates, 1787), and the Lit de Justice, under Brienne, successor of Calonne, the parliament showing itself refractory. Brienne retiring in 1788, was succeeded by Necker, but it was too late.

CAUSES OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

The Revolution was at hand. All minds were in a universal ferment. Assemblies were formed all over France, imitating those of England, and named clubs. Their only aim was to destroy abuses, to establish a constitution. The state of the country was intolerable. Everywhere were privileges, in individuals, in classes, in towns, provinces, and trades. All hindered industry and human genius. Civil, ecclesiastical, and military dignities were reserved for a few classes, and a few individuals in these classes. A profession could not be followed except by having certain titles and an income. Towns had their privileges in tolls, taxes, and choice of magistrates. All was fixed in certain hands, and the plundered masses were resisted by a small number of tyrants. All pressure weighed on one class. The nobility and the clergy possessed about two-thirds of the land, the other third belonging to the people, who paid taxes to the crown, a host of feudal tributes to the nobles, tithes to the clergy, and had to bear the

devastation of their lands by noble huntsmen. If in arrears in paying taxes, the people were ill-treated, imprisoned, and even enslaved. The burgher class enriching the land by its intelligence and industry was not quite so badly off, but had none of the advantages to which it was entitled.

Justice distributed in some provinces by the nobles in the royal jurisdictions, or by magistrates, who bought their offices, was slow, often partial, always ruinous, and especially atrocious in criminal cases. Individual liberty was violated by lettres de cachet; and that of the press by royal censors. The state, disgraced in foreign wars by the minions of Louis XV., compromised by the feebleness of the ministers of Louis XVI., had been recently dishonoured by the sacrifice of Poland and Holland.

If to this we add the long disorder in the finances, the irreparable faults of many of the ministers of Louis XVI., the minds of men disposed to change and revolt by the philosophical writings of the age, and the example of America, the resistance of the privileged classes to the proposed changes, the oblivion of principles that support society, it is evident that the revolution was inevitable.

OUTLINE OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL STRUGGLE.

The limits of the present work forbid a minute analysis of the Revolution. Its salient features can alone be described. Political events were rapidly on the move. The time of theory was past. Power was to belong to men of action. The influence of thought was now manifested in a new form in France. Antique eloquence seemed to break forth again with all its splendour and grandeur. The political assemblies in Paris exceeded the most stormy scenes of the Agora and of the Forum. Ideas became redoubtable facts; success was power, and too often a tyrant. Defeat was exile, the prison, the scaffold. All the philosophical opinions of the eighteenth century were represented in turn in these powerful assemblies. In the Constituent Assembly, the doctrine of Voltaire and Montesquieu found expression in Mounier and Lally-Tolendal; that of Rousseau, in Lameth, Siéyès, and Barnave. Above all towers Mirabeau, the genius of modern French eloquence; uniting popular passion with political intelligence, and only wanting virtue to be a perfect orator.

The Legislative Assembly, a rapid transition between the two great revolutionary councils (the Constituent and the Convention), could boast of such men as Condorcet and the Girondists.

Vergniaud, Guadet, and Gensonné, intoxicated with Rousseau's dreams. At the door thundered Danton and Robespierre.

All revolutions run to extremes and are lost in excesses. The Convention, after having sacrificed all that was great in it, descended as low as Robespierre and Marat. When a minister carries his madness so far as to ask from the tribune 270,000 heads to secure peace, his only name is butcher, and registrar of the executioner.

Thus a revolution, full of hope and promise at the beginning, was to end in ruin and blood. But its crimes were associated with grandeur. What noble impulses, generous passions, heroic actions it produced! How many gains for civilization; castes effaced, privileges destroyed, national unity founded, the liberty of conscience recognized, all citizens acknowledged, made equal before the law, torture abolished, the jury established, the Civil Code sketched out, national education admitted in its principles, trade set free, all progress made possible; these are some of the fruits of the great catastrophe.

THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY.

The States-General, which met May, 1789, sowed division at once. The privileged masses, refusing to act with commoners, le Tiers Etat, the latter declared themselves as permanent under the name of National Assembly.

Louis XVI. was unwise enough to blame this cause publicly, and order the Assembly to dissolve. They refused; tumults followed, the people flocked to Versailles, Paris was in a ferment, Necker exiled, the National Guard established, and the Bastille taken and destroyed (14th July).

The first emigrations followed; then the sitting of the Assembly (4th and 5th August, 1789), in which all privileges were abolished, tithes, titles, &c. It was already a great revolution. Parties soon after sprung up in the Assembly, and violence gained ground among the people. Some language at a dinner of the Royal Guard at Versailles, caused an explosion of wrath at Paris. A mob of furious men and women flocked to Versailles, but Lafayette established a little order, and saved the court from insult and death (Oct., 1789).

In the sitting of January 15, 1790, France was divided into eighty-three departments; December 2, 1789, the property of the clergy was declared national, and December 21, 400 millions of paper *assignats* were created, paper money representing the

value of the lands sold. The Assembly next passed a decree placing the church under the state; "civil constitution of the clergy."

July 14, 1790, took place the Fête of the Federation, for the taking of the oath to the new constitution. It was an imposing spectacle in the Champs de Mars, with a grand turf altar of antique fashion, 100,000 spectators, deputies of the army and National Guard with their flags. Talleyrand, then Bishop of Autun, celebrated, with 400 priests, a grand military mass—Talleyrand blessing the oriflamme.

All parties appeared reunited; but the influence of the clubs began to be fatally felt. The Jacobin club, founded by Breton deputies, at first in the old convent of St. Jacques, extended its influence, gained power over even the Assembly, and came at length to terrorize the land.

The state of disorder in France excited the alarm of foreign powers, and a coalition was formed against it by Austria, Prussia, England, Russia, etc. At the Convention of Mantua, May 20, 1791, between the Count d'Artois, brother of Louis XVI., and Leopold of Austria, it was agreed that an army should invade France.

FLIGHT OF THE KING.

Louis, feeling a prisoner in France, wished to escape. Having conspired with General Bouillé, who procured his escape, he fled, 20th June, 1791, at midnight, with his queen, the admirable Madame Elizabeth, and the Enfants de France, in disguise, and separately. They met on the Boulevard, mounted a berlin with six horses, and started for Montmedy. When their flight was known at Paris, the city was filled with stupor, groups were formed in the streets, but the Assembly remained calm, and seized the executive powers. Louis was imprudent enough to show himself at the carriage window; he was recognized at Saint Menes, by young Drouet, son of the postmaster, who going ahead of him, caused the king to be stopped at Varennes, where Louis had alighted, it is said, to take dinner, having rather a weakness for the table.

The royal family were brought back to Paris by three commissioners and an escort. On the return, Barnave was charmed with the kindness of the king and the graciousness of the queen, but Petion was more rude. Barnave was ever after faithful to royalty.

SUSPENSION OF THE KING.

Louis was suspended from his functions by a decree (July, 1791) and he and the royal family were placed under surveillance. And now the Assembly broke into two parties, clearly distinguished : the Republicans and Moderate Constitutionalists, meeting at the Feuillants, and the Jacobins at the Cordeliers. Meanwhile, Leopold of Austria, Frederic William II. of Prussia, and the Count d'Artois at Pilnitz, issued a declaration requiring the entire liberation and restoration of Louis XVI., and threatening war in case of refusal. This threat irritated the people and the Assembly.

But the Assembly began to be weary of its work ; the people desired a change ; the constitution was presented to the king, who adopted it, and a general amnesty was proclaimed.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY.

This Assembly opened October, 1791, and was remarkable for the appearance of the Girondins—moderates, who had with them the army, the National Guard, and all constituted authorities. The left was composed of extreme Republicans, especially backed by the Jacobin club, ruled by Robespierre, Danton, and Camille Desmoulins, called the party of the Montagne.

The first decree of the Legislative Assembly was against the emigrants and refractory priests. War was declared against Austria, June, 1792, and on the 20th June, 1792, the king, by opposing the above decree, incurred the affront of a riot. An immense crowd invaded the Assembly with cries of "Vive la nation ! à bas le veto !" and then marched to the Château des Tuileries. The gates were attacked with hatchets, but when in presence of the king they showed a little awe, and stopped. Louis was placed in the opening of a window by his friends, and showed real courage and greatness on this deplorable day.



REVOLUTIONARY SCENES.

Surrounded by national guards, and seated on a chair placed on a table, he replied to all importunities about the decrees, "It is neither the form nor the moment to obtain this from me."

But he did not think right to refuse the people the evidence of his love of liberty. He placed on his head a bonnet rouge, then the symbol of liberty in France. This act made him very popular, and was received with shouts of applause. He even condescended, when half stifled with the heat of the crowd, to drink a glass of water handed to him by a workman partially intoxicated.

The Assembly, fearing results, sent several members to protect the king and address the crowd, and the mob tranquilly scattered itself. Lafayette did much at this time to protect the interests of the king, but the imprudent manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick, who led the Prussian armies into France, hastened the crisis of royalty. Danton, Robespierre and Marat excited the people to insurrection. The country was declared in danger, volunteers were enrolled, the Feuillants club was shut, and, August 10th, 1792, the Tuileries was attacked.

ATTACK OF THE TUILERIES.

About midnight, the château being occupied by some volunteers and a few hundred Swiss, a shot was fired, the tocsin sounded, and a column of Marseillais and Breton fédérés marched to the Tuileries. The Carrousel was filled with the populace of the faubourgs, and cannon were pointed against the Tuileries.

At five o'clock, Louis reviewed his troops and prepared for defence. Deputations of the Assembly, aware of his danger, begged him and the royal family to betake themselves to the Assembly, and when he arrived there, he said: "Gentlemen, I have come here to prevent a great crime. I shall always think myself with my family safe in the midst of you."

After a memorable resistance of the Swiss, the Tuileries was carried and sacked, the number of victims amounting to 5000.

Deputations flocked up to decree the deposition of the king; but the Assembly would not take this on itself, and decreed—

- 1st. The convocation of a national convention.
- 2nd. The suspension of the king.
- 3rd. The dissolution of the ministers.

Louis was removed with his family to the Temple, and Lafayette going into voluntary exile, was cast into prison in Austria.

And now the fatal name of Commune comes up, wishing to rule at all costs. It already controlled the Assembly, its chiefs being Marat, Collot d'Herbois, Billaud Varennes, Talien, and Danton.

Danton was the inspiring spirit of anarchy; he was a revolutionary of gigantic proportions. No means appeared to him to be condemned, if it were useful; and according to him you could do all you dared to do. He has been named the Mirabeau of the populace, and he had a certain likeness to that orator of the upper classes; harsh features, a strong voice, imperious gestures, a bold eloquence, a commanding face. They also shared the same vices; but while the vices of Mirabeau were those of a patrician, the vices of Danton were those of a democrat.

ADVANCE OF THE PRUSSIANS.—MASSACRES.

The Prussians had entered France, and took Longwy and invested Verdun (August 23rd). Paris was in danger, and agitated. Massacres ensued. Danton and his friends organized a dreadful plot (2nd, 3rd, 4th September).

A great number of *suspects* had been imprisoned already, chiefly nobles and priests. Under the pretence of delivering France from her internal enemies, the cannon were fired, the tocsin sounded, and the Commune sent a band of 300 assassins to the prisons. At the Carmes 300 priests were butchered; Maillard, the leader of the hideous band, led them thence to the Abbaye, and repeated the slaughter there, at the Conciergerie, the Salpêtrière, and the Châtelet. The beautiful Princess de Lamballe was murdered at La Fort, and her disfigured head shown to her friend the queen.

Blood flowed for three days; the number of victims was from 6000 to 12,000. But heroism appeared amidst all this horror. The father of young Elizabeth Cazotte owed his life to her eloquent entreaties. A sublimer heroine, Mademoiselle de Sombreuil, daughter of the Governor of the Invalides, saved his life by drinking a glass of blood presented to her. The firmness and presence of mind of some men touched even their executioners.

When the prisons had been emptied, the men asked for their *salary*, and Billaud Varennes gave them money. Paris was in terror. The Assembly protested, and was powerless.

Externally, matters were more glorious for France. Dumourier checked the enemy in his march, and Kellermann gained the battle of Valmy over the Prussians (September, 1792), who,

discouraged, and the season being advanced, retired, having effected nothing. The siege of Lille had been raised, and Custine had taken Mayence and Spire.

The Legislative Assembly finished its sittings September 20, 1792.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION.

The Convention was opened in September (21st), 1792. It was divided into two factions—the Girondins, whom events had forced to become Republicans, and the Montagnards, who wished a democratic republic—an extreme republic; the other deputies were called the Marais. The Convention lasted three years, and followed various directions. In the first six months it was dragged into the conflict of the Girondins with the Montagne. From May 31, 1793, to July 26, 1794 (9th Thermidor, an. II.), the Mountain prevailed. During this time the Convention obeyed the government of the Committee of Public Safety, which ruined at first its old friends of the Commune and of the Mountain, and then perished by its own divisions. From the 9th Thermidor to the month of Brumaire (November), an. II. (1794), the Convention overcame the revolutionary party and the royalist party, and strove to establish a moderate republic. During this long and terrible epoch the violence of the situation changed the revolution into a warfare, and the Convention into a battle-field. Each party wished to establish its sway by victory, and secure it by founding its own system. The Girondin party tried to do this, and perished; the party of the Commune tried and perished also; the party of Robespierre made the same endeavour, and succumbed in its turn. They could only conquer, they could not found. The nature of such a tempest was to overthrow all that tried to establish itself—everything was provisional; rule, men, parties, and systems; there was only one thing real and possible—war! The conventional party required a whole year to bring back the revolution to a legal situation, and it could only do this by two victories, those of Prairial (April), and Vendémiaire (September). But then the Convention had come back to the place whence it had started, its mission being to institute the republic after having defended it. It disappeared from the scene of the world which it had astonished. Being a revolutionary power, it began where legal order had ended, and it ended where legal order recommenced. Three years of dictatorship had been lost to liberty, but not to the revolution.

The Convention passed several useful acts :—(1.) The metrical system, giving a rational uniformity to weights, moneys, and measures ; (2.) The Conservatoire des Arts et Métiers at Paris (Dec. 1794) ; (3.) The creation of the Normal School, Lagrange, Bonnet, Bernardin de St. Pierre, and other eminent men being appointed professors (1794) ; (4.) Above all the establishment of the Polytechnic School, March 1796, having as professors Lagrange, Monge, Berthollet, and others.

ROBESPIERRE AND MARAT.

Two men stood out at this time like black shadows cast before it by the Reign of Terror. Robespierre had ordinary talents and a vain character. His ardent self-love made him aim at a first place, and dare all to reach it. He had the qualities that make a tyrant—a by no means great soul, and yet not a common one, the advantage of a single passion, a merited reputation for integrity, an austere life, and no terror of bloodshed. He proves that in civil commotions fortunes are not made by wit but conduct, and that obstinate mediocrity does more than halting genius.

Marat had advised a dictatorship in his paper, *L'Ami du Peuple*. For a long time Marat had hid away from the arrêts* launched against him. In his sanguinary pages he asked for nothing but heads, and prepared the multitude for massacre. His mind was possessed by several fixed ideas. The revolution had enemies, and in order to last, in his opinion, she ought not to have any. He found it the simplest thing in the world to exterminate these enemies, and to name a dictator whose only duty would be proscription. Marat preached these doctrines freely, paying no more consideration to the proprieties of life than to the lives of men, and despising all those who called his projects atrocious. The revolution had actors more sanguinary than Marat, but no man had a more fatal influence than he. He depraved the morals of parties, and he had two ideas realized by the Committee of Public Safety, extermination en masse and the dictatorship.

* Decrees.

CHAPTER LIII.

TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF LOUIS XVI.

It was decided in the Convention that Louis, now called Louis Capet, should be tried. The king, who was confined in the Temple, was allowed to see his family, and read much, especially Hume's account of Charles I. of England. Never did his private virtues and estimable qualities shine forth more brightly than at this time. But soon a stricter guard was kept over the prisoner, and December 10th Louis was called to his trial at the bar of the Convention.

The chief charge was his correspondence with foreign powers and flight to Varennes, but the king replied with dignity, and often with triumph and refutations. His principal defenders were Malesherbes, Tronchet, and De Sèze. But Louis was pronounced guilty by almost the whole Convention, and condemned to death.

The king received the announcement very calmly, and asked three days' respite, a priest he named, and to see his family. The two latter requests only were granted. His last interview with his family was heartrending, but he slept soundly the night before his execution, and rising at five for mass, he received communion from Père Edgworth. Giving to Clery a ring, seal, and some of his hair, he prepared to depart; for the drums were beating, a dull sound of cannon was heard in the streets, together with the confusion of voices. Presently Sancou arrived. "You come to fetch me," said Louis, "I ask only a minute." He gave his will to a municipal officer, asked for his hat, and said with a firm voice, "Partons."

The carriage took an hour from the Temple to the Place de la Révolution (now de la Concorde), a double rank of soldiers lined the way, more than 40,000 men were under arms; all the citizens present were silent, no signs appeared of approbation or regret. Arrived at the scaffold Louis alighted. He ascended with firmness the steps of the scaffold, and received kneeling the blessing of the priest, who is said to have addressed the words to him: "Fils de Saint Louis, montez au ciel!" His hands were then bound, and moving quickly to the top of the scaffold he said: "I die innocent, I pardon my enemies, and you unfortunate

people." At this moment a roll of the drums was sounded, the noise covered his voice, and three executioners seized him. At ten minutes past ten he had ceased to exist.

The death of Louis rendered parties irreconcilable in France, and raised a general coalition against that country.

All the frontiers were to be attacked at once, Pitt was very active securing subsidies, and a terrible insurrection against the Convention broke out in La Vendée.

March 1793, a levy of 300,000 was decreed by the Convention, and Dumourier carried on the war in Flanders against the Austrians with various success. But this general soon after passed over to the enemy, and a panic fear of treachery seized upon the nation, which passed to the extremest measures. All kinds of accusations were framed against the Girondins, the Assembly was surrounded by sans culottes and tricoteuses,* hideous women devoted to Robespierre, while *Le Père Duchesne*, an abominable paper of Hebert, preached worse things even than Marat.



CHARLOTTE CORDAY.

Hebert, Henriot, and the mob triumphed over the Convention, and the Girondists were proscribed. "Point de faiblesse!" thundered Marat. From that time the Convention lost its freedom. It was at this time that the constitution (ap. I.) of 1793 was passed.

But the days of Marat were numbered.

He was assassinated by Charlotte Corday, a young girl of twenty-five, touched with the fate of the Girondins and the state of France. Her heroism at her execution excited the admiration of all present.

As the coalition made progress abroad, and the Vendéans at home, a levée en masse was decreed, provisions and saltpetre, and all required for the armies were furnished or extorted. A law of suspects was also passed, casting into prison all partisans of constitutional principles and all foreigners.

Toulon was seized at this time by Admiral Hood, but the Duke of York was beaten at Hondschoote, in Flanders, and the Prince of Cobourg at Wattignis. Other successes were gained by Generals Hoche, Pichegru, and Kellermann. Lyons, which had resisted the *Terreur*, was visited with an awful punishment, 2000 inhabitants being shot down with cannon in cold blood.

* Knitting-women.

THE ROYAL FAMILY.

Marie Antoinette had been separated from her children in the Conciergerie, where others, Girondins chiefly, among them the accomplished Madame Roland, were imprisoned.



MARIE ANTOINETTE.



MADAME ROLAND.

Summoned to the Convention, Oct. 14th, the queen was charged with dissipating the public money, and with love of pleasure, and having relations with foreign countries. She was condemned.

The night before her end she passed calmly, and removed to the place where Louis had suffered, she listened quietly to the exhortations of the ecclesiastic who accompanied her, and looked unmoved on the populace that had so often admired her. She appeared moved when she looked at the Tuileries, but hastening up submitted to her fate. The wretched bourreau showed her head to the people as he always did in the case of illustrious victims. This was the signal for the immolation of the hecatomb of great characters; Madame Roland, who showed a Roman spirit at her end, the Duke of Orleans, Bailly, and others. When a soldier said to the aged Bailly, "Tu trembles," "Mon ami," replied the old man, "c'est de froid."

COMMITTEE OF PUBLIC SAFETY.

All power was now in the hands of this dreadful body, appointed by Robespierre's men, Saint Just, Couthon, Barrere, and others. This committee disposed everything in the name of the Convention, which was its instrument. Its commissaries ruled the generals, its authority was sovereign in the departments by the loi du suspect, the revolutionary tribunal, requisitions, &c. It was this committee in the Reign of Terror that introduced the

decimal system, the revolutionary calenda, and the worship of Reason. The churches were profaned, and became the scene of impious fêtes, but the commune of 1870 exceeded the committee and Robespierre in this profanation of religion.

About this time Toulon was retaken, chiefly by a young artillery officer, Bonaparte, of whom we shall hear more shortly, Dec. 1793. Then came the death of Danton and Camille Desmoulins, April 1794, who were too moderate for the men of the Terror; these and Hebert were dragged to execution; arrived at the scaffold Danton said: "Voilà the reward destined for the first apostle of liberty." He carried his head proudly, but was touched on seeing his wife. "O ma bien aimée!" he said, "O my wife! shall I see thee no more?" Then stopping he added: "Danton, point de faiblesse!" and died with great courage.

THE TERREUR.

And now (1794) the Terreur reached its height, victims were slain in troupes; a law forbade more than sixty to be executed at one time. The virtuous Malesherbes was put to death with all his family. Almost all the parlement of Toulouse was executed. When Lavoisier, the chemist, asked a delay of a few days to make a discovery, the reply was: "The republic does not need men of science."

To make action more prompt, a law was passed, pronouncing death the only punishment. The most vague accusation was taken as a proof. All guarantee of immunity was destroyed. The ease with which men put others to death, and died themselves, was extraordinary. Executions became almost indiscriminate. After the saintly Madame Elizabeth had gone to the scaffold, and the poor dauphin had been tortured to death, the list of condemned came to contain the names of tailors, shoemakers, linendrapers, workmen, even. From March, 1793, to June, 1794, 567 persons were condemned, and from June to July, 285, making a total of 1862.

Murders were in fashion throughout France. At Nantes, noyades, or drowning, under the infamous Carrier, while Lebon marched the guillotine from town to town like a madman.

The most fanatical and sincere of the sect of Robespierre was St. Just, a daring, pitiless, but sincere and gifted man. Robespierre had now reached the height of his power. But parties were formed against him, and he was denounced in the Conven-

tion. The storm burst upon him, and when Robespierre rushed to the tribune to speak, he was stopped with, "A bas le tyran!"

Appealing to the Commune, his party sounded the tocsin. He was set free for a time; but the Hôtel de Ville being surrounded by the sections of the Convention, Robespierre blew away his jaw with a pistol, trying to shoot himself, and was carried on a brancard to the Assembly. Bourdon entered the hall, exclaiming, "Victoire! les traitres n'existent plus!" "The coward Robespierre is there," said the president. "You, doubtless, do not wish him to enter?" "No," they exclaimed; "he must be taken to the Place de la Révolution." He was placed for some time in the Committee de Sûreté Générale, before being transferred to the conciergerie. There, stretched on a table, with disfigured and blood-stained face, exposed to maledictions, he saw all parties rejoice at his fall. The 10th Thermidor, he entered the fatal car, placed between Henrion and Couthon. His face was livid, and surrounded with blood-stained linen. An immense crowd rejoiced in his execution. The gendarmes pointed him out with their swords. St. Just looked on calmly. Robespierre died last.

After his death, the Committee of Public Safety was modified. The Jacobin club was closed (November, 1794). Carrier and Lebon were executed. The trial of Billaud Varennes provoked a reaction against the more moderate party; but the Convention showed firmness, attacked, and, after violent scenes, overcame the faubourgs.

Meanwhile a galaxy of old generals had gained many victories in Belgium, Holland, and Germany. Jourdan, Pichegru, Hoche, Moreau, Marceau, Kleber, &c., under Carrier, minister of war, did wonders. The Duke of York and Clairfait were beaten in Flanders. All Belgium was occupied by Jourdan and Moreau. Holland was invaded and revolutionized in mid-winter (1794—95), by Pichegru crossing the Rhine over the ice with his cannon.

Prussia concluded a separate peace with France at Basle, 5th April, 1795; Spain the same year. The rest of the rule of the Convention was disturbed by massacres in the south, Royalist reaction fomented by England in the west of France, and violent revolutionists, scattered in time by the cannon of a young officer, Bonaparte, in the Rue St. Honoré.

After this, the Convention gave its attention to form the

Directory and two Councils. The Directory consisted of five members: Laréveillière Lepeaux, a man of courage, probity, and moderation; Sièyes, who had the greatest reputation at the time, superseded by Carnot; Rewbell, a man of great administrative activity; Letourneur, and Barras. The Convention was closed October 26th, 1795.

THE DIRECTORY.

The situation of France was discouraging at the moment the Directory came to the executive. But they showed much wisdom and a bold front in their difficulties. Many defeats were experienced on the Rhine by the French armies, attributed by some to the treachery of Pichegru. But Moreau took his place; Hoche was sent into La Vendée, and Bonaparte into Italy (1795).

The efforts of the Directory were crowned with success in 1796, a year which astonished the world by the dazzling results of Napoleon's genius in Italy. Finding an army of only 30,000 men, disorganized, shoeless, and starving, he fired it with his own enthusiasm, led it from victory to victory, beating all the old-fashioned Austrian generals at Montenotte, Millesimo, Lodi, and Rivoli, and breaking off Piedmont from the Austrian alliance.

Mantua was invested, and Beaulieu driven into the Tyrol, while Moreau, entering Ulm, threatened Vienna. The Austrian armies, trying to retain Mantua, under Wurmser and Alvinzi, were foiled and defeated, after hard fighting, at Arcole and Rivoli, till the cabinet of Vienna concluded a truce at Leoben, April 15th, 1797.

Bonaparte changed the governments of Upper Italy into republics; and a republican government being returned in September (Fructidor, 18th, 1797), the Treaty of Formio was signed between Austria and France, which ceded Venice to the empire, while Austria lost Belgium and Lombardy. The enthusiasm excited in Paris by the victories of Bonaparte was immense; and now it was decided that he should lead an army to Egypt, to strike a blow at England through India.

The dashing young general set out 19th May, 1798, with a brilliant escort of officers and men of science. Desaix, Kleber, Murat, Lannes, Davoust, Junot, and Marmont among the former; Berthollet, Monge, Fourier, Denon, Conté, Champy, &c., among the latter.

Soon after his departure, General Duphot, the French envoy, was killed in a riot at Rome, and France punished the act by converting Rome into a republic.

BONAPARTE IN EGYPT.

The first period of Bonaparte's campaign in Egypt was a series of successes (1798). By the battle of the Pyramids, where the gallant Mamelouk cavalry backed their horses in vain against the French squares, bristling with bayonets, Cairo opened its gates to the French, and Bonaparte became master of the country. But he was soon after (August) to feel the arm of that power which at St. Helena he regretted he had not made his friend.



BATTLE OF THE NILE, AUGUST 2, 1798.

Nelson destroyed the French fleet under Admiral Brueys, at Aboukir. Nevertheless, Bonaparte, bent on weakening Turkey, the ally of England, passed to Palestine, took Gaza and Jaffa, and, with 8,000 men, defeated 25,000 Turks at Mount Thabor. But here, again, he was thwarted by Englishmen. After many vain attempts, he had to give up the assault on St. Jean d'Acre, defended by the Turks and a few sailors under the dashing Sir Sidney

Smith. (The place had stood seventeen attacks.)

Returning to Egypt, Bonaparte completely crushed the Turkish army at Aboukir, and, leaving Desaix to conquer Upper Egypt, he made Kleber its governor, and slipped through the English cruisers, escaping to France when his presence was most needed.

DISASTERS OF 1799.—SUWAROF.

For a second coalition had been formed against France, and Paul of Russia had sent the eccentric and cruel but gifted Suwarof to lead his Russians against France. The breach with Austria had been provoked by the murder of the French pleni-

potentiaries sent to the Congress of Rastadt to discuss the terms of Campo Formio. The Austro-Russian army, under Suwarof and other commanders, beat Moreau and Joubert, at the Trebbia and Novi, till all that France retained in Italy was Genoa, whose garrison made a splendid defence. Division crept in between the allied generals towards the end of the campaign, and Korsakof being beaten at Zurich by Massena, Suwarof led his army, with loss of cannon, through the pathless wilds of the snowy Alps, and, escaping with difficulty, returned to die in Russia, and in disgrace, of a broken heart, after a life of wondrous success. Brune had also defeated the Duke of York in Holland. But things were not very encouraging when Bonaparte landed in France, and the Council of the Cinq Cents showed violent opposition to the Directory.

THE 18TH BRUMAIRE.

Bonaparte had said, on leaving Egypt, "The reign of advocates is finished;" and on his return he concerted, with Siéyes, the *coup d'état* that was to overthrow the constitution of year three of the Republic.

Several members of the Concile des Anciens had been induced by the conspirators, under pretext of an approaching return of the Terreur, to have the Legislative Corps transferred to St. Cloud. Napoleon was named commandant of the 17th military division, and was to superintend the transfer. The Directory resigned. The members of the councils went to St. Cloud; the ancients to the Galerie de Mars; the Cinq Cents to the Orangerie. An armed force surrounded the château.

Here Bonaparte repeated the part of Cromwell. He presented himself to the ancients, summed up the danger of the country, said that the constitution had been violated, and that he had only accepted the command-in-chief to give the support of the arms of the nation to the deputies, who are its head. He said that, directly the danger was over, he should abdicate his power. He went to the Cinq Cents to make the same declaration. Night was closing in. He entered bareheaded, accompanied only by four grenadiers.

On his appearing, the whole assembly rose as by a spontaneous movement. A great indignation was manifested. The cries were heard, "Cowards here! Armed men! Down with the Director! Down with Cromwell! Hors la loi! Hors la loi!"

Cesar seemed in the midst of the senate about to slay him, Bonaparte was pressed upon by a crush of ministers. The Corsican Aréna raised a dagger to strike the general; one of the grenadiers, Thorné, turned aside the blow, and received it in his arm. General Lefevre (afterwards Duke of Dantzic), warned by the tumult, enters the salle with a picket of grenadiers, and rescues Bonaparte. But great confusion prevails within. A stormy discussion ensues, and Lucien Bonaparte, going out, spreads the report that the deputies had wished to assassinate his brother. Presently the regular tramp of armed men is heard; a detachment of grenadiers enters, with lowered bayonets; the frightened deputies escape by the windows and elsewhere, and, throwing off their cloaks and Greek costume, disappear. The Council of Ancients, still sitting, decrees a new executive, under Sièyes, Bonaparte, and Royer Ducos, till a new constitution was formed. Two legislative commissions, each of twenty-five members, were charged to draw up the new constitution.

CHAPTER LIV.

THE CONSULATE.

THE first act of the great drama was played. Napoleon had begun that series of treacheries and violation of right which marked his whole career. The three consuls formed at first a provisional government; but a constitution was soon prepared, giving all power to one principal consul, with a consulting voice accorded to the two others. This was the executive, and had to initiate laws, the Corps Législatif to confirm them. A senate had to watch over their observance. This constitution gave all authority to the first consul, who was naturally Bonaparte. Foreign affairs required the presence of the great captain, who, quietly collecting an army near Lyons, and suddenly crossing the snows of St. Bernard, fell on the flank and communications of the Austrian general, Melas. Milan was entered June 2, 1800, and after a sharp action at Montebello, to the advantage of the French, the armies met in a long and severe struggle at Marengo, June 14. The earlier part of the battle went against

the French; the splendid Austrian cavalry had gained great advantages, and Napoleon was in full retreat, when Desaix came up with a reserve force, took the Austrians, scattered in pursuit, saved Bonaparte from defeat, and gained, with his death, a glorious victory.

Marengo threw all Italy into the hands of the first consul, and as Austria had been also defeated in the terrible battle of Hohenlinden, gained by Moreau, a treaty was concluded at Luneville, followed by that of Amiens (March 25, 1802). But, previous to this, Kleber had been assassinated at Cairo, and his successor, Menou, having been defeated by the English, under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, at Alexandria, had entered into a convention, by which his army was brought back to France in English ships.

By the Paix of Luneville, the frontier of France extended to the Rhine and Holland, but Switzerland was to be intact, and at Amiens England agreed to give up Malta.

CONSUL FOR LIFE.

On the conclusion of this peace, Bonaparte exerted himself to restore prosperity to France, and entered into a concordat with Pope Pius VII. restoring Catholic worship in France, and creating nine archbishoprics, with forty-one bishoprics. The Legion of Honour was decreed May, 1802. August 2nd, Bonaparte was declared consul for life by a *senatus consultum*. A complete system of despotic rule was introduced into the constitution. Usurpation followed abroad. The first consul annexed Elba, Parma, and part of Switzerland, against the treaty.

All this served as a justification to England for a rupture with France. A third coalition was formed.

NAPOLÉON EMPEROR.

An attempt had been made against the life of Bonaparte in December, 1800, by what was called a machine infernal, attributed to the Royalist Chouans, leading to an explosion as he went to the opera, but doing no more injury than breaking his coach-windows. In 1804 the insurgent Chouans organized a fresh conspiracy under Georges Cadoudal, a Breton, and Pichegru. But it was discovered by the police, Georges and twelve of his accomplices were sent to the scaffold, and Pichegru committed suicide, or was strangled in prison.

Then followed the greatest crime committed by Napoleon. The Duc d'Enghien, a Bourbon prince, living in Germany at Ettenheim, was seized by French emissaries, brought to Vincennes, summarily judged, and shot, with the cognizance of the first consul, who was rewarded for his crime by being proposed as emperor by the senate composed of his creatures. Carnot alone had the courage to oppose the vote. All the public bodies adopted the vote, and he was proclaimed emperor, at St. Cloud, the 2nd of Floréal, an. XII. (18 May, 1804).

A number of his first generals were named Marshals of the Empire.



NAPOLEON I., EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

Pope Pius VII. came to Paris to crown Napoleon. The solemnity took place at Nôtre Dame. The emperor went to the cathedral escorted by his guard, with the Empress Josephine, in a coach drawn by eight horses. The pope, the cardinals, archbishops, bishops, and all the great bodies of the state, awaited him at Nôtre Dame, which had been sumptuously decorated. He ascended the imperial throne, dressed in an imperial mantle, with the crown on his head. Conducted to the altar, he received a threefold unction from the pope, and, having sworn to

the new constitution, a herald proclaimed—"Le très glorieux et très auguste Empereur des Français est couronné et intronisé ! Vive l'Empereur !" A salute of artillery and the Te Deum followed.

NAPOLEON KING OF ITALY.—THIRD COALITION.

It was soon evident that the ambition of the emperor knew no bounds. He began with Italy. Passing to Milan, he placed on his own head the iron crown of the kings of Italy, making his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais, viceroy.

His next step was to aim a blow at England, collecting a vast flotilla and camp near Boulogne, and on the coast of the Channel. England was converted into a camp to receive him, and when Admiral Villeneuve tried to lure away Nelson, so as to have the Channel clear, he was overtaken by the British admiral off Cape Trafalgar, and utterly crushed, though having a superior force, all idea of English invasion being henceforth abandoned (Oct., 1805).

Nor was the coalition idle by land, Pitt having stirred up Austria and Russia against him.

Unhappily Napoleon was the greatest strategist at that time in Europe, and General Mack, the Austrian commander, being utterly incapable, was shut up and forced to surrender at Ulm, with 30,000 men, while Massena stopped the Archduke Charles in Italy. Napoleon entered Vienna Nov. 13th, and while Massena beat the Austrians on the Tagliamento, the emperor advanced and encountered the Austro-Russian army, led by Francis II. and Alexander I., at Austerlitz. December 2nd occurred the battle of Austerlitz, or of the three emperors, one of Napoleon's greatest triumphs. At one o'clock the French had gained a complete victory, though the Russians made a stubborn resistance on their retreat, many thousand men perishing, drowned while trying to pass the frozen lakes. The 150 captured cannon were used to form the Colonne Vendôme, thrown down by the Commune in 1871.

This victory was followed by the Peace of Presbourg, in which



LORD NELSON.

Austria gave Venice, Dalmatia, and Illyria to Napoleon, and the Tyrol to Bavaria. Napoleon next turned his attention to aggrandize his family. His brother Joseph was made King of Naples, Louis King of Holland, and he himself took the title of Protector of the Confederation of the Rhine, abolishing the German empire, leaving Francis II. the title of Emperor of Austria, and making kings of several German electoral princes.

FOURTH COALITION.

It was natural that this increase of power should raise a new coalition against Napoleon, and Prussia, whose territory had been violated by French troops in 1805, saw, when too late, that she should have combined with Austria sooner. Napoleon, as usual, paralyzed his opponents by the rapidity of his march. He cut off the Prussian army, under the old Duke of Brunswick, from Berlin, and beat it in detail at Jena and Auerstadt (Oct., 1806). The defeat of the duke, who was mortally wounded, was complete, and the Prussian army was almost disbanded. Napoleon, pursuing his success, reduced Berlin, and almost the whole of Prussia; but a small, gallant corps of Prussians, under Lestocq, joined the Russians in Poland.

BATTLE OF EYLAU.

Victory had hitherto crowned all the efforts of Napoleon, except when he had met Englishmen; and now the Russians were to give him trouble. He conducted a winter campaign in Poland, where he raised the hopes of the Poles only to disappoint them. The battles fought by the French at this time were sharply contested, and mostly indecisive, as at Pultusk and Heilsberg, which was almost a defeat. Although it was in February the Russians advanced to relieve Dantzic, and a terrible battle ensued at Eylau. For the first time in Napoleon's career, it was a drawn battle. A whole corps of 12,000 men (Augereau's) had perished under his eyes. Both armies prepared to retire, after the battle, though the French historians, with their usual want of accuracy, claim this as a victory. The losses were nearly equal, those of the French exceeding 30,000 men.

Dantzic fell in May, after a memorable siege. The Russian army, badly led, was defeated at Friedland, and a peace was concluded at Tilsit between Alexander I. and Napoleon, on

which the artful Corsican hoodwinked the Russian by prospects of partitioning Europe between them.

The outrages heaped upon Prussia, and its noble queen, Louise, at this time, can never be forgotten or forgiven by Prussians, and account for 1870. Prussia was reduced one half, the kingdom of Westphalia was made out of Napoleon's thefts for the advantage of his brother Jerome, and he split up Germany into a number of small states under subservient princes.

THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM.

Then at Berlin he thought to destroy England by launching forth his celebrated continental system, forbidding the entrance of British goods into any continental ports. But English navies swept the seas since Trafalgar; not a French ship dared look out of its port, and the whole continent was bottled up by a British blockade. Napoleon found England more than a match for him.

As a natural result of the continental system, England seized, under Wellington—now beginning his glorious career—the Danish fleet at Constantinople. This was drawing the eye-teeth of the continental system.

PENINSULAR WAR.

Then followed Napoleon's perfidious invasion of Spain and Portugal (1808), the gallant rising of their people, its splendid stand at the memorable sieges of Saragossa and Gerona, the defeat and captivity of General Dupont's division, tried to be palliated by Thiers on the score of the heat of the weather, the sacrileges and atrocities of French troops, and the noble and splendid aid given to the peninsular cause by Wellington and his army, which could go anywhere, and do anything, and beat every French force it met. All this is told elsewhere.*

ASPERN AND WAGRAM (A.D. 1809).

Austria, encouraged by Spain, flew to arms in 1809, to shake off its disgrace. It made a gallant stand under that very able

* See our "History of England" in this series.

strategist, the Archduke Charles, and if duly supported would have certainly defeated Napoleon.

This was the fifth coalition, still aided by England. Austria raised 500,000 men, the Tyrol rose in arms, and Jerome was driven out by the Westphalians. At this intelligence Napoleon left Paris, and, as usual, struck his blows with the celerity of lightning. Two actions were gained by the French after fighting at Abendberg and Landshut over General Hiller, and April 20, 1809, Napoleon defeated the Archduke at Eckmuhl. Vienna was taken, May 13th, and the Archduke John was defeated in Italy by Prince Eugène.

But soon after Napoleon was nearly lost. Crossing the Danube by Essling to attack Archduke Charles, the bridge of boats was destroyed, with part of his force left to fight the Austrians on the right bank. The Austrian squares had learned to stand the charges of the French cavalry, and the French were pressed back on the river and partly defeated, losing Lannes and St. Hilaire. Napoleon drew off his discomfited force to the Island of Lobau ; but if harder pressed he would have been infallibly lost.



JOSEPHINE.

When the bridge was restored he crossed the Danube again, and July 8th gained the hardly-contested battle of Wagram, leading to the Treaty of Vienna, in which Francis II. consented to the marriage of his daughter, Maria Louisa, with Napoleon, who divorced his faithful friend Josephine, the wife of his youth.

Another crime and folly ensued in the abduction by Napoleon of the aged pontiff, Pius VII., who was shut up at Fontainebleau and bullied in the most unmerciful way.

In fact he now played the complete tyrant, shooting the Tyrolese patriot, Hofer, and the unhappy German bookseller, Palm.

This was the time of the height of his imperial power, comprising, directly or indirectly, all continental Europe, except Russia, Sweden, and Turkey. Switzerland, Holland, and Hamburg were at this time united to France.

WAR WITH RUSSIA (A.D. 1812).

But Russia did not and could not long adhere to the continental system, and Sweden, which had chosen Bernadotte, one of Napoleon's generals, as crown prince, followed the influence of England and Russia. Negotiations were carried on between France and Russia in 1811; but both sides secretly armed and prepared for the gigantic struggle. Austria and Prussia promised auxiliaries. Napoleon organized the National Guard for home defence, and sent out all his forces except those engaged in Spain and a few required for home service, and after receiving the incense of adulation from servile princes at Dresden, he advanced to Poland and crossed the Niemen, June 25, 1812, falling from his horse as he reached the Russian shore.

June 28th he was at Vilna, but nowhere could he catch the Russian army, the able General Barclay de Tolly acting the part of Fabius Maximus.

Instead of re-organizing Poland, Napoleon penetrated into the heart of Russia, farther from his resources. The Russians burnt their towns and laid waste their villages as they retired. Before Smolensk, August 17th, his army had some success, but with heavy loss, and when he entered the town it was burning. At Valoutina, where Napoleon tried to cut off Bagration and the Russian rearguard, he met with a desperate resistance, and lost General Gudin. On another occasion Miloradowitch made a splendid retreat with a column of infantry, though surrounded by an ocean of glancing French cavalry under Murat.

At length murmurs arose in Russia against the retreat, Barclay had to be superseded, and the aged Kutusof resolved to give battle to the French in the place of Borodino. The forces were almost evenly matched.

BORODINO.

What is called *la grande bataille* was one of the most sanguinary recorded in modern history. Redoubts taken and retaken; the plain strewn with dead and wounded, whole corps decimated and exhausted; fifty French generals, 40,000 men hors de combat; no trophies, no flags taken; this was an event in the career of Napoleon, and, so far from France, equivalent to a defeat. The Russian army retired unmolested, and Napoleon, advancing slowly, entered Moscow, where he hoped to refresh his army and perhaps to winter.

But scarcely installed in the Kremlin, he heard that the capital was burning, fired by the patriotism of the governor, Rostopchin. The splendid oriental-looking city, with its green and gold cupolas and quaint kiosks, was all ablaze; the sky itself seemed on fire, and at length Napoleon was hurried into safety, passing from the sombre old Kremlin, through the suffocating gleaming streets, over piles of hot ashes. The great man was at length defeated. Spain and Russia were to teach him the power of outraged popular feeling.

Moscow had to be abandoned, and the terrible northern winter was at hand. Here was a *desillusion* for the great conqueror who had yet to learn to retreat.

And now commenced the retreat, the decline, the fall of the Great Idol. At Malo-Jaroslavitz, Kutusof tried to bar the retreat of Napoleon, who only cleared a way by a tremendous, irreparable loss (Nov. 1812). Both parties were severely handled, then they eventually turned their backs on each other; and the French army, encumbered with stragglers and camp-followers, had to fall back by the desolate country through which it had marched up.

The northern winter broke upon them with unusual severity. In September hunger and want added to their sufferings, disorder spread in the ranks, increased by the harassing attacks of the Cossacks, and by the time they reached Smolensk all order had ceased except with the Imperial Guard. Multitudes perished of cold and hunger at the bivouac fires or by the lance of the Cossack. The cavalry were all dismounted, generals, officers, and men marched in an indiscriminate mass of misery. After Smolensk the retreat of the rearguard was conducted with consummate skill by Ney, who covered himself with glory. The mass of the force had broken through the Russian army with heavy loss, and were awaiting Ney in Lithuania, but he did not appear, and was given up for lost as the entire force of Kutusof barred his retreat.

By a series of almost fabulous adventures this bravest of the brave had led off his full remnant by a flank march, had outwitted the Russians, crossed the floating ice of the rivers, gone through pathless forests, and at length rejoined the main force, where they were hailed as those risen from the dead.

Then came the dreadful passage of the Berezina.

A large Russian force under Tchitchakoff was deceived as to the point where Napoleon meant to cross, and with the greatest celerity the engineers and old General Eblé made some weak

pontoon bridges amidst floating ice, working day and night, most of them falling victims to their devoted efforts.

At length the bridges being completed a large part of the force, still retaining some discipline, passed, but terrible disorder took place as the host of disbanded men and stragglers rushed amid chariots and cannon, to escape the Russian balls playing upon them. Multitudes were crushed to death or drowned, and the horrors of this passage have never been surpassed. At the breaking up of the ice thousands of bodies were found in the river, victims immolated to the relentless ambition of the idol of France. A whole division (that of Partonneaux) was also taken by the Russians.

All the corps of French upon the frontier, and who now met the grand army, were infected by its disorder and melted away. The cold increased terribly, and the sufferings of the survivors made them envy the fate of those who had perished. In the midst of this misery Napoleon suddenly abandoned his unhappy men and hastened to Paris, fearing to lose his crown through a conspiracy.

A miserable remnant of the grand army reached Prussia under Murat, Ney showing a brave front to the last.

THE END.

The grand war of independence in Germany has been chronicled elsewhere. Napoleon had to press boys into his service to make another army, and he now found his antagonists quite a match for him. His great genius enabled him to gain some hard-fought successes at Lutzen and Bautzen, and after he had refused the terms of the allies at Töplitz, and Austria had joined the coalition, the great captain showed his old dash in the victory of Dresden (Aug., 1813). But fortune had evidently abandoned French arms. Vandamme's corps was destroyed at Kulm, Ney was beaten at Dennewitz by Bulow, Blücher overthrew Macdonald on the Catzbach, and hedged in the French at Leipzig. Napoleon, after two days' fighting against the allies, entered on a disastrous retreat with heavy loss, and, crossing the Rhine, never saw Germany again.

The allies determined to give him no respite, entered France, and made a winter campaign, in which Napoleon, with a small force, showed much of his finest genius. Several actions took place at Brienne, Montereau, &c., and for a time the cause of the allies seemed in danger, Blücher having been surprised and

beaten at Champaubert. But he retrieved his affairs at the battle of Laon, and Napoleon, refusing advantageous terms, made a dash at the frontier to cut off the communications of the allies. Undeterred by this, Prince Schwartzberg and Blücher advanced on Paris, which, after a show of defence, opened its gates to the Emperor Alexander and the King of Prussia, who entered at the head of their guards.

Napoleon, coming back too late, was deserted by all but his true friends at Fontainebleau, and forced to abdicate, the allies generously allowing him the island of Elba and a brigade of his guard.

The affairs of Europe were to be settled at a congress of the allies at Vienna. Louis XVIII. was restored to the throne of his fathers.

THE HUNDRED DAYS.

While the Congress of Vienna was discussing the settlement of Europe, it learnt with amazement that Napoleon had come back to France, and made a triumphant progress to Paris without being opposed by the army of Louis XVIII. under Ney, who had sworn fidelity to the Bourbons, and that Louis XVIII. had fled to Ghent. Active measures were at once decreed. All the troops of the old coalition were set in motion. Wellington was placed at the head of a mixed army in Flanders, to cover Brussels, and Blücher had a Prussian army near him to guard Liège.



F. M. THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

Napoleon, knowing that he was outlawed, was not idle. He affected to act as a constitutional emperor, and he called forth all the resources of France. A good number of his veterans remained from the Peninsula and garrisons in Germany. With these he formed a fine army of 120,000 men on the borders of Flanders, while taking measures to guard his other frontiers. But his chief hope lay in Belgium, by crushing Wellington and Blücher in detail before the other allies could join.

We avoid the details of the campaign of Waterloo given else-

where. Suffice it to say that the Prussians were on their guard and made a very good stand at Ligny; that Ney was saved by night from being beaten at Quatre Bras; that Napoleon made a fatal mistake in thinking Grouchy, with 30,000 men, could keep in check the Prussians; that Wellington, who could only rely on his English and German troops, chose an admirable defensive position at Waterloo; there the heroic endurance of our infantry, and the splendid dragoon charges of Ponsonby, foiled all attempts of Napoleon's powerful artillery and overpowering cavalry to break our line, and that the day ended in one of the most complete victories ever gained. The empire was again destroyed. In six weeks the allies were at Paris, and Napoleon, a fugitive at La Rochelle, gave himself up to Captain Maitland, of the *Bellerophon*.

Transferred by a decree of the allies to St. Helena, he passed six years fretting against the petty persecution of Sir Hudson Lowe, and writing exaggerated memoirs of his campaigns. At his end he showed a pious and penitent disposition, remarking that all human empires are shadows compared to that of Jesus Christ.

Napoleon inflicted great misery on France and on Europe, but he did some useful things. He improved several ports and made Cherbourg. He constructed fine roads over the Alps, and in Italy. He erected many splendid bridges in Paris, opened several canals, finished the Louvre, built the Grenier d'Abondance and the Bourse. He created many hundreds of manufactures, including that of beet-root sugar, and beautified Paris, by plundering all conquered cities of their works of art, restored after his fall.

But the great work of Napoleon was the Code Napoléon, which, with some defects, is immensely in advance of our English law, especially in matters of expense and time.

CHAPTER LV.

THE RESTORATION.

THE history of the Restoration is tame after the rousing period of the Revolution, the Consulate, and the Empire. Yet never did France enjoy more freedom than at this time, though tranquillity was enforced for the first few years by a large army of

occupation under Wellington, and by a heavy indemnity. The reign of Louis XVIII. was disturbed by plots, but was, on the whole, happy, the character of the king being *débonnaire* and good-natured. The execution of Ney was a severe measure, though perhaps just. The assassination of the Duc de Berry was a horrible event; the birth of the Duke of Bordeaux, his son, the present legitimate heir to the throne of France, filled the royalists with delight (September 29, 1820).

The principal events of that reign were the invasion of Spain by a French army, under the Duc d'Angoulême, to put down the Cortes, who opposed the despotism of Ferdinand (1823), that king having broken his word to his people (1820). Riego, the idol of the patriots, was taken and put to death. Mina was beaten, the king was set free and restored to absolute power, but Angoulême tried to prevent arbitrary arrests. Notwithstanding his wise endeavours, Spain was long a prey to anarchy.

September, 1824, Louis XVIII. expired, and his ashes were placed at St. Denis, with those of his fathers. He was a man of wit and instruction, but knew little of political economy, of public rights, and was often governed by his entourage. He was polished in his manners, and had more talents than any of his family.

CHARLES X.

The first event of importance in this reign, and marking the tendency of the monarch, was the disbanding of the National Guard (April, 1827). April 29th, the king reviewed the National Guard in the Champ de Mars, and was received with cries of "Vive le roi! vive la charte!" But in the Rue de Rivoli, under the windows of the Minister Villele, they shouted: "A bas les ministres!"

The next event was the war for the independence of Greece, ardently promoted by Châteaubriand, the poet, and one of the ministry. All Europe viewed with more than sympathy the unhappy Greeks, degraded as they were, make heroic efforts to throw off the Mahometan thralldom, under which they had groaned too long. Byron, on the part of England, and Châteaubriand in France, roused the national mind to action, and a combined English, French, and Russian fleet, under Admiral Codrington (July 6, 1827), appeared at the passage of Pylos, formed by the island of Sphacteria and the mainland, where stood the town of Navarino. A deputation sent in was fired upon by Turkish cannon, and the attack ensued, ending in the almost

total destruction of the Turco-Egyptian fleet, an event most auspicious for Greek liberty, but dubious as an act of policy, because of the preponderance it secured for Russia in the Levant. The French squadron on that day was commanded by Admiral Rigny.

A land expedition to the Morea followed, under General Maison. On landing, General Higonet took Fort Navarino (Oct. 7th), General Durrieu captured Moron, and (Oct. 9th) General Sebastiani was master of Coron. The advance of a Russian army, under Diebitsch, to Adrianople (1829), secured the independence of Greece.

This same year the ministry of Polignac took office, and several unpopular measures were adopted. But the spirit of the session was hostile to the ministry, and an energetic address to the king, expressing their fears, was signed by 221 deputies. This led to the dissolving of the chambers.

The great glory of the reign of Charles X. was the conquest of Algiers, that nest of tyrants which had been for centuries the scourge and the disgrace of Christendom, which suffered it. The Dey of Algiers had insulted the French envoy by a blow in the face with his fan, and war was resolved on in August, 1829. The Count of Bourmont, Minister of War, left Paris to command the army, which was conveyed to Algiers by a fleet of 500 sail, under Admiral Duperré. The Moors were beaten at Sidi-Ferruch, and the white flag floated from the tower of Torre Chica. The troops were animated by extraordinary enthusiasm. The French soldiers, with their superior tactics and discipline, easily defeated the Bedouin cavalry; the Fort de l'Empereur blew up, and next day Algiers capitulated (July 5, 1830). In the Kasbah the conquerors found 50,000,000 francs. Piracy was destroyed, and France obtained a fine colony.

About the same time the king had sanctioned a very imprudent act of his ministers. July 26th, the *Moniteur* contained the royal ordinances violating the charter, suspending the liberty of the press, dissolving the chambers, and changing the mode of election. These ordinances were signed by MM. de Polignac, Peyronnet, Chantelauze, Guernon-Ranville, Montbel, and Capelle.

The first impression they produced was stupor, the next indignation. July 27th, the Liberal journals were violently seized at the presses, the troops were under arms and ordered to disperse the gathering crowds. The shops were shut, bullets began to whistle, the people cried: "Aux armes!" and broke open the gunsmiths' shops. An obstinate fight took place in many

quarters, barricades were formed, 4000 or 5000 men were under arms.

(July 28th.) Notwithstanding the great heat the fight waxed more furious this day. Marmont commanded the royal troops, and the insurrection was headed by General Dubourg. Fusillades resounded through Paris the whole day, but the troops of the line showed repugnance to fire on the people, with whom they began to fraternize, and who were joined by the students of the Polytechnic Schools. Most of the public posts of Paris were carried, the Hôtel de Ville, the Arsenal, the Préfecture de Police, and the Caserne de Babylon, obstinately defended by the Swiss. At night the royal troops fell back on the Tuileries and the Louvre. The fusillade and the tocsin were heard throughout the night. July 29th decided the victory of the people. After a furious fight the grilles of the Louvre were broken through, and the bodies of the brave Swiss strewed the ground in front of the Tuileries, over which the tricolor was seen to float.

The discomfited army retreated to St. Cloud, no violence or robbery disgraced the triumph of the people; a provisional government was formed under the direction of Lafayette, and the National Guard was restored.

Louis-Philippe, Duc d'Orléans, supported by the bankers, accepted the office of lieutenant-general of the kingdom, an act viewed as treachery to his relations of the older branch of the Bourbons. Charles X. was deposed, and abdicated in favour of his grandson, the Duke of Bordeaux.

August 9th, 1830, the deputies met, and after declaring the throne vacant, elected Louis-Philippe, who took the oath to observe the charter as *Roi des Français*.

Charles X. was at Rambouillet. He refused to see five commissioners sent him by the Parisians, and asked for a safe-conduct. On hearing this the Parisians marched to Rambouillet, and Charles, alarmed, took the road to Cherbourg, where he embarked. He was first installed in Holyrood House, and afterwards at Frohsdorf, in Austria, where he died.

He has left the character of a perfect gentleman and the best horseman in France, and of a well-meaning man of limited capacity.

LOUIS-PHILIPPE I. (A.D. 1830—1848).

Before leaving Neuilly, on the night of the 30th to the 31st of July, Madame Adelaide, his sister, had tied a tricolor ribbon

to the button-hole of the king. This significant act declared that the new monarch accepted the principles of the revolution of **1789**. A new era commenced ; the charter was to be, at least for a time, a reality, and parliamentary government was to have weight.

The Restoration had been useful and done much good ; never had France enjoyed more real liberty than at that time. The ordonnances were the first great folly it committed, and Louis-Philippe did no more than resort to the order of things before the Polignac ministry. But France hated the Bourbons because foreign armies had brought them back, forgetting the tyranny of Napoleon, and the miseries and humiliations this Corsican had brought on France.

Foreign powers were at first alarmed at the changes in France, but Louis-Philippe reassured them. Nevertheless, the influence of the French revolution was felt in Europe ; Belgium shook off Holland, aided by France ; Poland declared its independence crushed by Paskewitch after desperate fighting (**1831**) ; Italy was agitated. But the King of the French resisted all violent tendencies, and showed himself the friend of peace, and he succeeded in quelling the numerous riots that broke out in France soon after his election to the throne.

Having reached the ground of contemporary history, we must now rest satisfied with a brief chronicle of events, abstaining in some measure from criticism, up to a later posterity. We may allow ourselves, however, the freedom to enumerate several of the useful acts of this king ; who, with many faults, had much prudence and political wisdom.

He encouraged letters, arts, and industry, and gave a great impulsion to public works. He deserved the name of the Napoleon of peace. On the throne he gave the example of all private virtues, he imbued his sons with thoroughly French views, scattered benefits on all the unfortunate of every creed and party, admirably seconded by his excellent queen, Amélie. He was clement to his enemies and adverse to political executions. Yet few princes have had more attempts against their lives (seven separate attacks), the worst attempt being that of the infernal machine under Fieschi, July 28th, **1835**.

Other benefits of this reign were the reforming the penal code (**1831—32**), the repression of the slavetrade and progressive emancipation of slaves (**1831**), the reforming of prison discipline (**1834**), primary education (**1833**), the suppression of gambling-houses and lotteries (**1838**), the erection of public monuments, the Column

of July (Place de la Bastille) and that at Boulogne, the Arc de Triomphe, the completion of the Madeleine, Nôtre Dame de Lorette, St. Vincent de Paul, the Hôtel de Ville, and several bridges, and the conversion of the palace of Versailles into a magnificent historical museum, the fortification of Paris, and the opening of railroads.

The principal ministers of Louis-Philippe were M. Thiers, Count Molé, the Duc de Broglie, and Guizot. Several acts of the reign were doubtful. The support of Egypt against Turkey was a blow aimed against England, defeated by Admiral Napier at Acre. The capture of Otaheite was a doubtful proceeding; the mode of the warfare in Algeria was often inhuman, as the smothering of an Arab tribe in a cave of the Dahra by Pelissier. Louis-Philippe was also accused latterly of filling the chambers with his creatures, of reducing the right of election, and of inordinate family ambition. The death of the admirable Duke of Orleans, heir to the throne, was undoubtedly a great misfortune for France, and the progress made by socialism in the press hastened the catastrophe. Banquets in favour of reform (23rd. Feb., 1848) gave expression to public agitation, and when Guizot tried to resist the tumult in Paris, and a few lives were lost, a tremendous agitation ensued, the troops joined the people, none of the royal party showed a proper firmness except the Duchess of Orleans, and Louis-Philippe, escaping in a blouse to Newhaven, was given Clarendon, where he died, 1850.

His admirable queen, Amélie, survived him many years, universally respected as a pattern of piety and every virtue. Her grandson, the Count of Paris, unites in his person the claims of both branches of the House of Bourbon.

CHAPTER LVI.

THE SECOND REPUBLIC (A.D. 1848).

A PROVISIONAL government was formed tumultuously, the principal members of which were the poet Lamartine, the socialist author Louis-Blanc, and the savant Arago.

All was at first liberty, equality, and fraternity; but soon the

socialistic theories begun to work against reactionary tendencies, and the flag of the Red Republic of Communism was raised against the tricolor.

The insurrection of June, 1848, was only an expression of the utter democratic and socialistic aspirations of the masses. The dreams of Victor Hugo, Cabet, and Pierre Leroux had taken effect. The rising of the faubourgs was serious, the fighting severe, and the socialists were driven from barricade to barricade with heavy loss by General Cavaignac, who was named dictator in the moment of peril. At length the insurgents were quelled after 17,000 persons had been killed or wounded, the Archbishop of Paris, who had bravely striven to reconcile the adverse parties, dying a martyr on the barricades.

After June, the tendency of the republic became more reactionary. M. de Falloux was first minister, and when votes were taken for a president the nation elected Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, son of Hortense Beauharnais and Louis, King of Holland, brother of Napoleon. He had passed a troubled youth, had made two attempts to seize power in France, and had passed some years a prisoner at the château of Ham, where he had escaped, disguised as a workman, Dr. Conneau taking his place.

The principal measures, after his election, was an expedition to besiege Rome, under General Ney, which put down the revolution under Garibaldi, and restored Pius IX.

The powers of the president and those of the assembly both ended in 1852. Many in the Assembly favoured the restoration of royalty; it proposed measures giving it greater authority, and the president anticipated a blow aimed at him by his coup d'état, December, 1852. Supported by Algerian officers, many of ruined fortunes who sought to retrieve them, and gaining the troops by his name and by presents, Louis Napoleon closed the Assembly, seized its most active members in the dead of night at their lodgings, shut them up, and, when fully resisted in some of the streets, he marched masses of troops along the faubourgs, who occupied the capital, and shot down many thousands of innocent spectators. The faubourgs did not stir, as they had lost all interest in the struggle since June, 1848.

Louis Napoleon was congratulated by Lord Palmerston, and proceeded to get himself elected president for ten years by seven million votes (under compulsion). The ten years' presidency was only a step to the empire, which he assumed as Napoleon III., the Duke of Reichstadt, Napoleon I.'s only son, having died at Vienna in 1831.

At a great banquet at Bordeaux he had said, "*L'empire c'est la paix*," but France required periodical blood-letting, and obliged him to make war several times.

THE SECOND EMPIRE (1852—1870).—FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Almost at once, France, having as ally England, was involved in war with Russia. The effort of Nicholas I. to annex and partition Turkey was thought inadmissible, and the two Western powers supported the Porte (1854—55), Germany holding aloof. It has been seen that the influence of the French alliance was hurtful to our success at first. Lord Raglan, the British commander, was paralyzed by his French colleagues, and our troops, who covered themselves with glory, suffered heavily, especially from exposure in the winter trenches before Sebastopol. The navy had little opportunity to distinguish itself. At length Sebastopol fell, the French force being far stronger than the British, which was also ill-commanded by General Simpson. Thereupon Napoleon III., who only wished to humiliate and not to weaken Russia too much, induced England to conclude a peace, excluding Russian ships from the Black Sea.

The next war of France was in Italy, occasioned by the attempt of Orsini, an Italian conspirator of Mazzini's school, to assassinate the emperor. Louis, afraid of the secret societies, saw that something must be done to soothe them.

He therefore insulted Austria, and accompanied his army to Piedmont in the spring of 1859, joining the forces of Victor Emanuel, then King of Piedmont.

The Austrian forces were good, but badly commanded by Giulai and Hess. A stubborn engagement was fought at Montebello and at Magenta; the emperor and his guard were saved from destruction by MacMahon running up to the rescue (May, 1859).

Soon after Milan was entered, and the Austrian emperor, Francis Joseph, heading his forces of 160,000 men, a resolute battle was fought at Solferino (June, 1859). It lasted throughout the day, the Italian wing was thoroughly beaten by the Austrian Benedek, but the new cannons rayés of the French helped them. Solferino was carried and soon after the Austrians fell back. The losses were heavy on both sides, and Napoleon, fearing that Prussia would join Austria, concluded a peace at Villafranca and Zurich, by which it was proposed to make Italy a confederation with the pope at its head (1859). This plan was defeated by the Garibaldian party and the intrigue of the Piedmontese. By the

peace of Zurich, Austria yielded Lombardy to Piedmont as far as the Mincio.

The next foreign wars of the third Napoleon were in Syria, China, and Mexico.

In Syria, the atrocities of the Druses and Damascenes against the Christian Maronites fully justified the sending of a corps of French troops to the Levant, to protect Christian interests (1860).

In the same year France and England sent a joint expedition against China, which had violated its engagements. Fifteen thousand men were transported to the distance of 18,000 miles from Europe. The Emperor of China sent 70,000 men to oppose them, but they were driven in at the ports. Some of the European envoys were cruelly treated and tortured, but the allied force advanced towards Peking, beat the Chinese at Palikao, captured Peking, and sacked a splendid palace of the Emperor of China, the French troops in particular securing immense booty, and demolishing the most costly and curious porcelain and precious ornaments.

At the peace of 1860, China agreed to pay an indemnity of 120,000 millions of francs, opened the port of Tien-Tsin, and granted many other advantages. About the same time, Cochin China was occupied as a French colony.

In 1862, France, England, and Spain agreed to subdue the revolutionary government in Mexico, but France alone adhered to the programme. The first exploits of the French in Mexico were disastrous, and although they took Puebla and other places, at a later date, the resistance of that town was heroic. The French, under Bosquet and Bazaine, lost heavily (1863), especially by disease; and even after the taking of Mexico, the folly of the Mexican campaigns was severely lashed in the Chambers by Thiers. This war diminished the prestige of Napoleon III., and although he nobly promoted the triumphs of industry in the Exposition of 1867, the French never quite forgave him for having allowed Prussia to crush Austria in 1866, and thus to weigh with preponderating force on the French frontier.

The emperor tried to soothe the irritation by converting the government from an empire of authority to one of liberty, April 20th, 1870, but in vain.

Prussia was insulted by his minister, and by France insisting on steps connected with the future renunciation of the throne of Spain to which no high-spirited monarch and people could submit. Napoleon was pushed into the war almost against his wish by

his ministers Grammont and Olivier, though he thought the army larger, and better prepared, owing to the deceptions of General Leboucq and others. Prussia was taken almost by surprise by the declaration of war, July, 1870, and Napoleon calculated on the alienation of a large part of Germany.

But all Germany hated and feared French ambition and aggression, and adhered to Prussia. An immense force was set on foot in an incredibly short time, and wielded by the science and genius of Moltke, marched to assured victory. An immense enthusiasm inspired the German armies, which, three in number, moved fast to envelop the scattered French marshals.

In Baden, the Crown Prince of Prussia, on the Eifel, Prince Frederic Charles, and near the Saar, General Steinmetz advanced against Metz, the head-quarters of the emperor, MacMahon being at Strasbourg, and De Failly at Saarbruck.

The French were overthrown in every action; at Weissenburg, at Wörth, at Spicheren, whether inferior or superior in position or numbers, they were defeated with loss.

The emperor left Metz, and Bazaine tried to leave it, but was cut off by the main Prussian army, which, after three days' hard fighting, drove back 200,000 French at Courcelles, Mars-la-Tour, and Gravelotte, in August, and enclosed Bazaine in Metz, with 200,000 men, including the Imperial Guard, who surrendered to the Prussians under Prince Frederic Charles in November.

An attempt of MacMahon to relieve Metz led to the disaster of Sedan, where, by the wondrous Prussian strategy, the emperor and army, shut up in a net, after much hard fighting, had to surrender—80,000 men, 300 cannons, and sixty eagles, or flags. The emperor was sent to Wilhelmshöhe Palace, near Cassel.

Meanwhile Paris, in a paroxysm of fury, decreed the republic. A provisional government was formed, of which the soul was a lawyer of Marseilles, Gambetta. General Trochu, an honest man, but not a genius, was made governor of Paris, when every effort was made to stand a siege, by bringing in great quantities of supplies, and of mobile guards.

A levy en masse was proclaimed, but Prussia was too much for the irregular levies of France. Here and there a good stand was made; but Strasburg fell, and Toul, and all the fortresses. Versailles became the head-quarters of the King of Prussia, Paris was closely blockaded, and all the efforts of the garrison to break through and join Aurelle de Paladine and General Chanzy, proved abortive. The French were beaten before Paris.

on the Loire, in Normandy, and at Le Mans, and, notwithstanding the able tactics of General Faidherbe, near Amiens, and all the unwise eloquence of Gambetta, Paris had to yield to famine, and a truce was agreed to, followed by a peace, entitling certain départements to be occupied by Prussian corps till an immense indemnity was paid; Germany recovering her old province of Alsace, and part of Lorraine with Metz (1,500,000 souls).

Before the Prussians left Paris, they were careful to enter it in triumph, knowing full well that the Parisians would have boasted that they had not dared to do so, if Prussian bayonets had not glanced along the Champs Elysées.

The National Assembly, chosen to sanction the peace dictated by the able Prussian minister, Bismarck, named Thiers president, and had to encounter a dreadful outbreak of the Commune at Paris, which, when reduced to extremity, after every sacrilege and horror, including the massacre of the excellent Archbishop Darboy, reduced half the noble monuments of the French metropolis to ruin.

The army of Versailles took a terrible revenge, and, under the able administration of Thiers, France and Paris rapidly recovered. But the Assembly was not republican in heart, and opposing Thiers, who resigned, it elected, in 1873, MacMahon as president, the Duc de Broglie, a well-known Orleanist, being president of ministers.

Everything points to a speedy return of royalty to France.

Napoleon III., received with sympathy in England, finished his stormy career quietly and in peace at Chiselhurst, in January, 1873.

He leaves behind him his widow Eugénie, a pious and graceful lady (née Comtesse de Montigo), and the prince imperial, who has received a most careful education.

BENEFITS OF THE EMPIRE.

Ere we conclude, it is only just to notice some of the good points of the second empire, in contrast with its defects.

1st. It did much to promote benevolent institutions. The Caisse des Retraites, a sort of savings' bank, the Sociétés de Secours Mutuels, convalescent hospitals, and hospitals for mutilated workmen, were among the number.

2nd. Encouragement of agriculture and industry. Paris was almost demolished, and, like Rome under Augustus, arose again in new beauty under Napoleon III. The name of Baron Hauss-

mann, Préfet de la Seine, will always be associated with this work. Railroads were opened in all directions, chambers of agriculture and agricultural exhibitions were organized and encouraged.

Free trade was carried out with England, whose faithful ally Napoleon III. remained to the end. The societies of the Crédit Foncier and the Crédit Mobilier were thought to be very useful in improving the funds, though the latter came to grief. The Universal Exposition of 1867 was a grand effort to promote the arts of peace, adopted from the example of our admirable Prince Albert.

Pauperism greatly diminished under the empire, though rents were high at Paris. General education was largely developed by the minister, Duruy, and all religions received a generous toleration, with a few exceptions in detail.

CHARACTER.

Lastly, though it must be admitted that Napoleon III. was a very imperfect character, addicted to intrigue and pleasure, he had some very redeeming features. He never forgot a friend, especially those who had befriended him in more difficult times. He was a faithful ally. He was almost too amiable in his court, a character of which many base natures took advantage to cheat him to their own profit; and when he discovered the fraud, all he did was to laugh at it.

The principal charge that can be brought against him is that of having allowed too much licence at court, in the theatres, and in the press. But the French character is prone to extremes, and seized with a kind of delirium in times of prosperity; and such was the second empire.

THE END.







